PROBRERT HIMS

Review of Latin America • WINTER 2002

Tourism in the Americas

Development, Culture and Identity

DAVID ROCKEFELLER CENTER FOR LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Understanding Tourism

Development and Beyond

BY FRANCESCO FRANGIALLI

N AN INCREASINGLY INTERDEPENDENT WORLD, THE ECONOMIES of the developing countries have become more sensitive and vulnerable. Many countries in Latin America and the Caribbean suffer deep inequality of wealth, with almost one-third of the region's people living in poverty. Tourism, if it takes into account ecological and cultural needs, can contribute substantially towards economic and social development and the alleviation of poverty.

When the World Tourism Organization adopted its Global Code of Ethics for Tourism in Santiago, Chile in 1999, I recalled the organization's fundamental mission as described in its statutes, "the promotion and development of tourism with a view to contributing to economic development, international understanding, peace...."

After the September 11 attacks, tourism is more essential now than ever to build bridges of cultural understanding and to bolster faltering economies.

The contribution of tourism to social and economic growth in developing countries is of more critical importance than in developed countries. The World Tourism Organization itself will set a good example by including poverty alleviation as a new priority in its budget for 2002-2003. Indeed, at a time when the international community is becoming aware that the development divide, far from narrowing, is growing wider, tourism is beginning to be perceived as a means of closing the gap between rich and poor internationally as well in individual countries.

On the economic front, tourism has the capacity to create jobs—jobs for the poor, jobs for women and young people, jobs in the indigenous communities, unskilled as well as highly qualified jobs, jobs in seaside resorts as well as in remote rural areas and in ecotourism activities. Tourism is a much more diverse industry than many others and can build upon a wide resource base. Diversity increases the scope for wide participation. Furthermore, most export industries depend on financial, productive and human capital. Indeed, tourism depends on these but also on natural capital, such as wildlife, scenery and beaches, and culture, vital assets of many developing countries in Latin America and the Caribbean. For these reasons combined, tourism should be considered as one of the important economic development opportunities available to developing countries in the region.

Over the past five years, some countries in Latin America and the Caribbean recorded considerably higher annual growth rate of international tourist arrivals than the world average of 4.9 %. Cuba and the Dominican Republic, with more than one million arrivals, even achieved double digit growth of 18 and 11 %, respectively. In terms of international tourism receipts, Central American destinations, including Panama and Belize, enjoyed a phenomenal annual growth rate of 13.1 per cent between 1995 and 2000, more than four times the world average.

Despite the strong tourism performances of these selected countries, the region as a whole is far from exploiting to the full its potential for tourism and needs to meet further challenges. Tourism development requires the efficient and coordinated action of all the social

agents and economic actors of each country. Many governments have been slow to demonstrate their readiness to back tourism development, which is still struggling to find its rightful place in the political and social arena.

At the First IberoAmerican Tourism Summit in Cuzco, Peru, last year, ministers from the Spanish and Portuguese speaking countries of the Americas, plus Spain and Portugal, and WTO Regional Representative for the Americas met to give tourism a priority role in economic development programs. Their joint declaration, *The Cuzco Commitment*, declared that tourism should produce the desired social, economic and cultural impact and contribute to the fight against poverty. They further agreed that tourism should be used to strengthen the links between their countries, while guaranteeing a sustainable level of development to preserve their environment and cultural authenticity. An action plan, slated to be made public at a second meeting this year, set out ways to improve the quality of life, encourage job creation and develop business opportunities through tourism, while actively involving local and indigenous populations.

These leaders are seeking to put into effect the principles set out in the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism: open and balanced relations between responsible partners, a growing liberalization of tourism trade that is consistent with the need for sustainable development, and the unflagging pursuit of peace. The Code sets out to minimize the negative impact of tourism on the environment, host communities and the cultural heritage.

Here, in these pages of *ReVista*, you will find many different perspectives from thinkers and doers on tourism, development, and beyond.

Francesco Frangialli is the Secretary-General of the World Tourism Organization, headquartered in Madrid.

Revista HARVARD REVIEW OF LATIN AMERICA

Formerly DRCLAS NEWS published by The David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies

Director John H. Coatsworth

Executive Director Steve Reifenberg

Publications Director June Carolyn Erlick

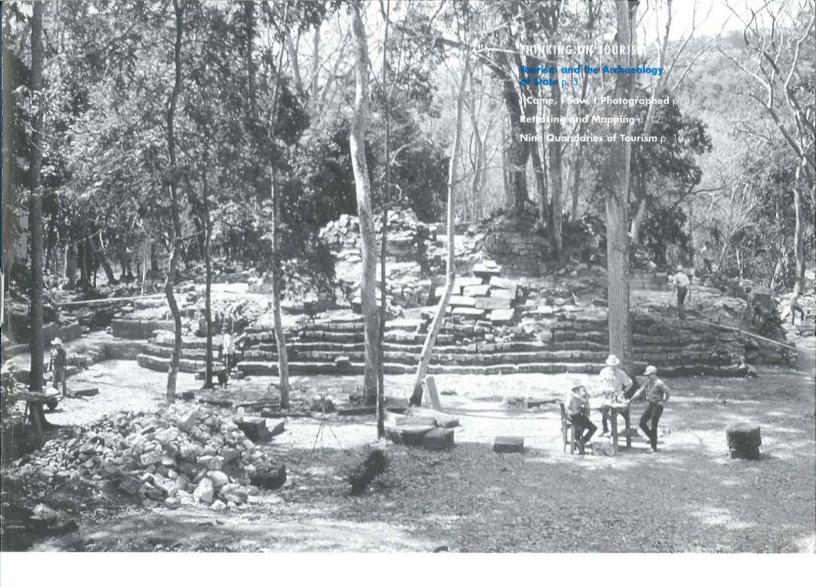
Associate Director Ellen M. Sullivan

Design kellydesign

61 Kirkland Street Cambridge, MA 02138 Tel: (617) 495-3366 Fax: (617) 496-2802 Subscriptions: <drclas@fas.harvard.edu> http://www.fas.harvard.edu/-drclas/

Cover Photo by Angel Amy Moteno Copyright © 2002 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.





Tourism and the Archaeology of State

Facing Challenges: the Case of Copán, Honduras

BY WILLIAM FASH

OR MANY NATION-STATES, THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THEIR ILLUStrious ancestors are the source of immense pride, and a focus for national identity.

For tourists who visit these archaeological monuments, the etiquette should be to see and to learn, without damaging the site or disrupting the local community. To those of us working in these areas, the task is to explore and to educate within the context of the research needs and protocols of the host country, and contribute to—but not interfere with—projects of creating or reifying national identity.

The relationship between archaeology and national identity goes way back. For example, the unearthing of several statues from the Aztec capital of Mexico-Tenochtitlan in the 1790's inspired those fomenting the cause of independence from Spain. In the first half of the 20th century, Mexico began to explore and restore the ruins of the Pre-Hispanic civilizations throughout its national territory. Subsequently, in the late1930's, President Lázaro Cárdenas creat-

ed the Ministry of Tourism, with an eye to sharing the many natural and cultural wonders of his country with his own citizens and the rest of the world. Archaeological sites were then, and remain today, near the top of the list of tourist attractions. In Mexico and many other countries that followed its lead, this commitment has had the consequence—whether intended, or not—of creating a strong incentive to investigate and restore archaeological sites for both national and international public consumption.

The phenomenon has come to be known as "the Archaeology of State," and is practiced in dozens of countries around the globe. No one would question the value of fomenting the study and public visitation of important historical and archaeological sites, or the idea that the study of a nation's past can help inform its decisions about its present and future. The controversies arise when excessive tourist visitation puts the cultural patrimony itself at risk. To preserve their Paleolithic paintings, the caves of Lascaux and Altamira had to be closed to the public.

Ownership and appropriate development are other critical issues related to tourism and the Archaeology of State. Do the ruins belong only to the direct descendants of the people who built them, or to the nation-state in whose territory they reside? Should economic development in the form of new hotels, restaurants, and other services be open to everyone, or only to citizens of the host country? Should employees of tourist-related industries be drawn from anywhere at all, or should local residents get the first crack at jobs in new ventures? Is the influx of vast numbers of foreign visitors—with all the cultural norms and innovations that they bring—necessarily a good thing, or only a necessary evil, or an unnecessary evil that local communities should have the option of vetoing?

These and many other questions are being actively debated in the country of Honduras, home to one of the most spectacular

and informative archaeological sites in the Americas. The Classic Maya ruins of Copán are renowned for the exquisite quality and sheer abundance of their stone sculptures and hieroglyphic inscriptions. A series of

archaeological projects have explored these tantalizing ruins for more than two centuries, including a series of expeditions by the Peabody Museum of Harvard University in the 1890's. In the 1930's, the Carnegie Institution in Washington D.C. signed a collaborative agreement with the Government of Honduras to "repair" the major monuments at the site to protect them and make them more attractive to tourists in the process. In 1975, Gordon Willey, the first Bowditch Professor of Central American and Mexican Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University, was asked by the Honduran Institute of Archaeology and History to design a long-term project of documentation, research, and preservation for the Copán Valley—the blueprint for much of the work in Copán ever since.

Beginning in the late 1970's, the Honduran government has sponsored or supported a running series of projects in the Copán Valley, as well as in the civic-ceremonial center of the ancient city. The projects seek both to conserve the cultural patrimony for future generations and to attract foreign tourists.

As a result, the number of tourists visiting the site has swelled from about 10,000 a year in the late 1970's to well over 100,000 people for the past four years. Happily, owing to the fact that conservation efforts in Copán both preceded and shaped the economic development projects (new roads, electricity, water systems, park services, etc.), the result is widely considered a great success in tourism and preservation circles. However, the first site management plan, produced in 1982, stated that the carrying capacity of the principal group of ruins was 70,000 people a year. As these words are being written,

The relationship between archaeology and national identity goes way back to the 1700's.

a new site management plan is being drawn up that will suggest ways to alleviate the pressure being placed upon the park by too many footsteps in all the same places. The existence of other tourist attractions to the ancient city is helpful, most notably the elite residential area to the east of the civic-ceremonial center and the new sculpture museum, located at the entrance of the archaeological park. But there is no substitute for the lovely heart of the ancient city, with its graceful architecture and masterworks of stone sculpture. Over-population of the ancient city was one of the prime reasons for its demise, and all concerned would hate to see a variant of the same phenomenon result in irreparable damage to the site today.

Many residents of Copán Ruinas, a modern town of 6,000 that

is growing daily, did not entirely embrace the idea of changing the character of their community in pursuit of the tourist dollar. Some have been vocal about not wanting foreigners disrupting their society, playing major roles in the excavation of their ruins, or intruding upon their economy.

The livelihood of Copán Ruinas had traditionally been agricultural, specializing in the cash cropping of tobacco and coffee, cartle, but mainly devoted to the age-old trinity of maize, beans, and squash that had sustained the Classic Maya for millennia in the idyllic mountain valley where the town and the ruins are located. Others were quick to realize the economic potential of visitors and began building new hotels and restaurants. For many years, these tourist facilities would only fill to capacity during the holidays, most notably Semana Santa (Holy Week) and Christmas, when most of the visitors were either from Honduras or neighboring countries. But with time, Maya archaeology became a hot topic in North American academe, and more broadly and importantly, North, South, and Central

Editor's Letter

As tourists to Mexico, we were watching the fuzzy black-and-white television image of Neil Armstrong when he became the first man to set foot on the moon July 20, 1969. My then-boyfriend Jim and I were sitting in a somewhat seedy workers' bar in Mexico City, lamenting the fact that the U.S. government could better be spending the money on schools. Jim was even considering moving to Mexico; the specter of the U.S. war in Vietnam and the draft hung over both of us. But suddenly, practically the entire bar was hugging us, congratulating us, buying us beers. We were Americans, and the Mexicans were proud of us...even if we weren't.

Six years later, I was off on a long and unstructured trip through Latin America. In Cartagena, Colombia, I met a young student and asked him his advice on my next destination—should I go to the jungles of the Chocó in eastern Colombia or to Caracas. "Caracas," he replied, not missing a beat. "That's much more interesting." It was not until many years later that I realized how we carry our own perspectives into our touristic contexts. For Mario, who had never even been to Bogotá, Caracas was the far-off paradise, the big city, while I was lured by the exotic otherness of the jungle region.

Tourism provides a mirror for others and ourselves. After September 11, many in the Americas became aware of the huge economic and development impact of the tourism industry. But, beyond development, tourism is also important because it creates links between cultures. For better or for worse, it shapes culture, identity and history.

Here in the pages of this second issue of ReVista, you will experience how tourism is the epitome of an interdisciplinary study, shaped by the perspective of our different fields.



Previous page: Structure 32, home of the last Copán King; clockwise from top left: former president Rafael Leonard Callejas and his family learning about Altar Q from Ricardo Agurcia and the author; piecing together Maya history in a sandbox; ceramic effigies of the Copán Kings; Barbara Fash doing inventory and conservation of stone sculpture

American culture. That interest was sparked by a series of notable archaeological discoveries in the Copán Valley and the Principal Group that were widely disseminated in a broad array of public and academic media. By the early 1990's, it was no longer a question of whether one thought tourism should play a major role in Copán; it was, what are you doing to take advantage of it?

When my wife Barbara and I began working in Copán in 1977, I as a graduate student of Gordon Willey's, she as the Project Artist, there were only four hotels in town. As of this writing, there are now 28, including one four-star hotel, and a Best Western. Two decades ago, there were only four restaurants in town; now there are over a dozen. Likewise, there has been a proliferation of new service industries, everything from "Rent-a-Horse" and bird-watching tours, to souvenir shops, hot-spring spas, Spanish language schools, and yes, cyber-cafes. The younger members of the community have been inspired by what they have learned in their secondary and higher education in the larger cities of Honduras and abroad, and have been quite successful in globalization and the opportunities that it presented. Some opened computer schools, others cyber-cafes, language schools have successful web pages to attract clients. The man who had been the ham radio operator in Copán Ruinas when Barbara and I began working there soon shifted to satellite communications, and now runs a successful television cable service ("Copán Cable"). Younger, more educated people in town take pride in riding the wave of new technology, rather than watching as others (from the big cities, and other countries) do.

In the mid-90's, the town prospered as never before. Work was abundant, the hard currency from tourist visitation circulated throughout the economy, as those who best profited from tourism built new houses for themselves and their families, bodegas, and new businesses. The masons that we trained on the archaeological project to help in the consolidation and restoration of architectural monuments found far more remunerative work in town in construction projects. Virtually every family in town benefited directly or indirectly from this economic boon, some in truly dramatic fashion.

Then along came Hurricane Mitch, on All Saint's day of 1998, and the world changed for Honduras. The devastation to the country's people, their economy, and even the infrastructure, were beyond description. Happily the international community—particularly Mexico—was very quick and generous in its response, and the people of Honduras rose to the occasion. In Copán Ruinas, people still talk about how much the community was brought together by the challenges of both bridges leading into town being washed away by the river and main stream next to the town. Still, the images of the damage, and all the explicit reports in the press, meant that potential tourists from the U.S., Canada, Europe, and Asia were not about to put Honduras on their itinerary, and tourism plummeted.

Fortunately, the hurricane spared the ruins, with the exception of a few small buildings on two spots along the riverbank. However, the dramatic drop in visitation affected both the town of Copán



The Ballcourt (left) and Hieroglyphic stairway (right)

Ruinas, and the country as a whole. Rental car agencies, tour operators, restaurants and hotels in the cities with international airports suffered. In Copán Ruinas, the effects to the economy were profound. Many people who had taken out big loans to build businesses had to default, and the ripple effect was felt far and wide. The Honduran Institute of Anthropology and History likewise felt the effects of the drop in visitation to the ruins, since ticket sales at the Archaeological Park of Copán accounts for a significant part of the Institute's budget. Many projects and programs across the country had to be stopped or cut back as a result, including several in Copán itself.

The owners of the best hotels in town made a plea to the Institute director, who in turn called me to ask if we could help them in getting the word out that the roads and services had all been successfully restored and that Copán was as beautiful and inviting as ever. My response was that I would look into getting a film crew to Copán, since a number of new finds had recently been made, and I knew perfectly well that the town and the ruins were indeed in fine shape once more. The process was a long one, as I recall nearly two years passed between initial contact, three different "shoots" at the ruins, editing and discussions of what to include and how to focus the documentary, and the final product. In the meantime, tourism had picked up of its own accord! Many of our colleagues are quite skeptical whether such programs are in the best interest of the living Maya peoples of Honduras, Mexico, Guatemala, and Belize, particularly when so many of them demonstrate an extreme western bias that occasionally borders on being downright racist. A major conference was recently held on this very topic, in which the archaeologists and art historians who emphasized the role of warfare and human sacrifice in ancient Maya history and religion were taken to task for creating an image and a set of stereotypes that are detrimental to the cause of cultural and economic autonomy for the living Maya.

In the case of Copán, a new Site Management Plan is being completed that aims to balance the needs of conservation, education, and tourist visitation, taking into account the needs and demands of the various constituencies with a vested interest in the ruins. These include the town, central government, indigenous groups, and researchers. The place of Copán within the country and national identity of Honduras is a central guiding force in the document and the activities that it envisions for the coming decade. The idea is to improve the quality of the visitor's experience, by better conserving the site and providing more information in better signage and other media than is presently the case. Long considered a quintessentially "Maya" city, the kingdom of Copán was home to many non-Maya speakers in antiquity, who had strong commercial and family ties with their homelands in central Honduras as well as peoples in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Belize. It is hoped that Copán will shine not merely for its "Maya" art, architecture, and hieroglyphic texts, but for its relationships with non-Maya peoples in the rest of ancient Honduras, in ancient, colonial, and modern times. It remains to be seen whether the Chorti (Maya) indigenous group will be able to lay claim to part of the proceeds from the ticket sales in Copán, or the town of Copán Ruinas, which has made a simi-





Fullscale reproduction of an early classic temple in the new Copán sculpture museum

lar request to the central government of Honduras. In the meantime, the Park Management Plan is calling for a greater commitment of those resources to the work in Copán from the Institute of Anthropology and History. The Institute has found itself in the position of needing to support other important historical, archaeological, and conservation projects in other parts of the country from the revenues obtained from Copán.

So, the road is not always an easy one, there are fits and starts, and plenty of shades of gray. In our case, our long-term commitment to Copán, the town and its people, and the country of Honduras keep us engaged even as our intellectual interests have begun to shift elsewhere. Our three sons grew up in Copán Ruinas, and are tri-lingual, bi-cultural, and will forever be closely connected with the town of Copán and its people. Barbara and I will always feel a sense of deep gratitude and debt that our sons were able to experience and understand another culture in such a profound and meaningful way. We do our best to enable other young people to drink deeply of the waters of Copán Ruinas, through the fieldwork we taught there in the summers of 1995-2001. The saying goes that once you have drunk the water of Copán, you will always come back. But those that we trained there were instructed early and often in the art and the obligation of respect, to the country, the townsfolk and those who reside in the more indigenous hamlets scattered in the countryside, and to the archaeological remains and their creators.

As a teacher, one always aspires for one's students to achieve much more than their mentor. In the case of Mesoamerican archaeology, we hope that through their profound sense of ethical obligation for the conservation of the human, biological, and cultural resources of Central America and Mexico, our students will be able to achieve even more as educators and researchers than we have. While our archaeological projects have been focussed on the conservation of Copán's sculptural and architectural monuments, much remains to be done to create stronger and better relationships between all those who share those ideals, the Institute of Anthropology, the townspeople of Copán, archaeologists and anthropologists of various nationalities, and yes, those who come to visit the site, by the tens of thousands each year. While we certainly do not and will not live in a perfect world, that should not prevent us from trying to make it better, especially in a place as lively and lovely as the tropical paradise of Copán.

William Fash is Bowditch Professor of Central American and Mexican Archaeology and Ethnology, and Chair, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University. He and his closest colleague (and spouse) Barbara Fash have participated in or conducted research and conservation projects for the past 25 years in the Ruins of Copán, Honduras, Central America. They have recently joined a new research endeavor at the site of Teotihuacan, Estado de Mexico, Mexico, at the invitation of Linda Manzanilla (UNAM) and Leonardo Lopez Lujan (INAH), where among other things they hope to explore the relationships of Teotihuacan to Copán and other Classic Maya kingdoms. For the first time, he is offering a field course—not to Copán—but to Teotihuacan this summer.

I Came, I Saw, I Photographed

Tourist Photography's Fictional Conquest

BY ROBIN KELSEY

ECENTLY, WHILE WALKING ACROSS THE HARVARD CAMPUS, I WAS stopped by two tourists with a camera. They asked me if I would take a picture of them beside the words "HARVARD LAW SCHOOL," engraved on a stone block in front of Pound Hall. As I did so, one of them expressed relief at having found the sign after a long search of the campus for any official and photographable declaration that this place was, in fact, Harvard. On another occa-

sion, a camera-toting tourist asked me to direct them to a gate or a doorway with the name of the university spelled out above it.

These anecdotes suggest that to function properly a set of tourist photographs ought to include at least one in which a place somehow utters its own name. A single photograph bearing a clear announcement can introduce and geographically anchor one or more album pages, obviating the need for a caption, and thus reinforcing the myth that photographs speak for themselves. Moreover, by arranging for a photograph of themselves beside the sign in front of Pound Hall, the two tourists I encountered were fashioning a rebus of sorts that explicitly recorded their geo-

graphical presence. Pondering these implications got me thinking about the social functions of tourist photographs more generally. What follows are some very broad but perhaps nonetheless helpful speculations about the work that tourist photographs do.

As Susan Sontag has noted, the tourist photographer is acquisitive. The snapshot and the postcard proclaim and confirm the tourist's acquisition of experience and facilitate its integration into personal and familial histories. While the tourist is abroad, the sending of postcards announces to friends and family that the process of acquisition is under way. The writing of postcards is itself a sign of leisure (who has time to write postcards?), so that both card and message flaunt an exceptional and enviable state of being. The standard finish, "wish you were here," is less an expression of actual regret or desire than a gloss of graciousness on a boast of enjoyment.

Upon returning home, the tourist shares an album of photographs of the trip much as a hunter would show off a room of trophies. The analogy runs deep in the nomenclature of photography: tourists talk of shooting pictures and capturing images, and long ago the word *snapshot* meant a shot fired from a gun hurriedly and without careful aim. Photography has largely replaced taxidermy as a way to preserve and display evidence of triumphant excursions to distant lands. The photograph of a vegetable market, like the stuffed head of a bear, not only signifies travel and conquest, but also provides a node of conversation. Tourists expect their photographs to

tell a story, but also to facilitate the telling of others.

Tourist photographs are commonly thought to record experiences, but experiences of what? Many of us have witnessed tourists taking photographs of a building or view that they otherwise ignore. In other words, tourists often look at things only to determine whether and how to photograph them. The analogy between hunting and photography may help us understand this behavior. Just

as the trophy head above the mantel is evidence that the proprietor shot (not otherwise experienced or knew) the animal in question, the tourist photograph of a thing serves primarily as evidence of the tourist's act of photographing it. The photograph proclaims that the photographer was present at such and such a place and took a photograph. This argument helps explain why tourists often take photographs of things even if they already have superior pictures of them in glossy books at home.

But what, then, is the social value of the tourist's photographic trophies? Travelling to distant places may itself be regarded as an achievement that the photograph memorializes. In addition, the

practice of tourist photography presupposes that the identity of the photographer has a cumulative aspect that can be assessed according to the quantity and quality of experiences. The tourist identity apparently swells and improves with experienced sites. Once a tourist has photographed a building or waterfall, it belongs, in some sense, to him or her. This cumulative form of identity fosters a checklist approach to the acquisition of experience ("been there, done that"), whereby each tick takes the form of a photograph that both announces and confirms the experience acquired. If all this sounds imperial or colonial, it should: in many respects, tourist photography is a Victorian invention.

Sontag has also pointed out the mundane fact that photography gives tourists something to do. One of the problems of leisure is that it is defined negatively as an absence of work. During a vacation, photography fills this gap; it gives the tourist an endless task of locate, point, and shoot. Tourist photography is a fantasy arcade game, a holiday inversion of work, in which conquest could hardly be easier.

In some tourist photographs, of course, the photographer or members of the photographer's party appear. Such photographs not only confirm that the photographer and company were in a particular place taking photographs, but also evince the state of pleasure that this activity entailed. Smiling for the camera is a way of signifying this happy state to future viewers; it constitutes a claim or reassurance about the experiences acquired. There is, after all, a



Shooting the photographer







Clockwise from top left: Jorge González Camarena, Visit Mexico! poster, 1943; veggie stand in Mexico; folkloric dancers in La Paz

great deal at stake in tourism: it is the supposed payoff of months of often dreary labor. Tourist photography ensures that a vacation can be recorded and declared as emotionally successful, regardless of the actual emotions experienced.

The selection of evidence for the act of shooting with either a camera or a gun follows certain conventions. One reason that a hunter will preserve and display the antlers (and not the tail or leg) of a downed moose is that the antlers are both immediately recognizable to many as a sign of moose-ness and as a measure of the excellence of the kill. The tourist also wants evidence of acquisition that plainly speaks of its character and quality, often relying on stereotypes or familiar images to do so. This is why tourists who

come to Cambridge want to photograph something that declares Harvard to be Harvard. Such declarations need not be verbal. Tourists from the U.S. in Mexico, for example, often want their photographs to include what they regard as conventional signs of Mexican-ness, such as sombreros, ponchos, palm trees, and certain textiles and decorative motifs. Photographs may signify the value of experience in various ways, such as by representing sights that are particularly famous ("it's the Pyramid of the Sun!") or spectacular ("can you believe the color of the water?").

The social power of tourist photography rests in part on the dubious assumption that the pho-

tograph represents what a person standing where the photographer stood would have witnessed at the time the photograph was taken. The routine use of telephoto and wide-angle lenses by tourist photographers is only one of many sources of discrepancy between photograph and vision that belie this assumption. The social fantasy of photography is so strong, however, that even knowing that the tourist used a very powerful telephoto lens generally fails to dispel the sense that the image was available to the tourist as an unmediated experience of place. Viewing tourist photographs often involves a suspension of disbelief.

On a gun safari, the acquisition of a trophy requires the death of the subject shot. Tourist photography allows for the subject of the picture to survive the shooting, but nonetheless the practice of photography has profound impacts upon tourist destinations and their inhabitants. Harassment is only the most obvious of these. Tourist photography also motivates certain interests in destination communities to provide opportunities for the taking of photographs that tourists might prize. This means proffering to the camera signs of exoticism, novelty, authenticity, and geographic identity, so that photographs will confirm the acquisition of identifiable experiences ("that's Mexico, all right") outside the scope of the tourist's quotidian world. Because photography is so integral to tourism generally, communities that prohibit tourist photography greatly reduce the presence of tourists. For example, Pierre Van

den Berghe has found that the flow of tourists through the Mexican village of Zinacantán, where a prohibition against photography has been strictly enforced, is only a small fraction of that through San Juan Chamula, even though both villages are easily accessible from San Cristóbal.

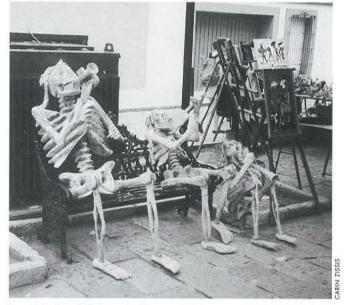
As many have acknowledged, tourist photography informs relations of power. It divides the social world into those who photograph and those who are photographed. Some persons shift from one position to the other (I sometimes serve as a tweedy local for tourists on the Harvard campus, but I also travel abroad with camera in hand). A great many people, of course, only experience the role of the photographed subject, which is generally dehumanizing.

A tourist often photographs local people because they display signs of geographical identity in much the same way as do local plants, local topography, and local architecture. The personality, volitions, and history of the individuals photographed are often of no interest to the tourist. For many who live in destination communities, the routines of daily life have become, willy-nilly, a performance of geography for the album of another.

What many of these remarks suggest is that tourist photography entails the making of a fiction. The photograph album of the tourist is a picture book. The photographs within it are not representative of the places visited

(industry, tourism, and ugliness are all suppressed), nor of the tourist's activities (waiting in line and sitting on buses go unrepresented) or expressions (nothing but smiles). Like a movie, the photograph album of the tourist is a carefully produced and (largely pre-) scripted narrative. The album is, in a sense, the product toward which all efforts at touring point. Those on the tour play the lead roles, while the locals serve as unpaid and often unwilling extras. When the album takes its place alongside others on a shelf, it adds a pictorial chapter to the fictionalization of a life.

I have been discussing tourist photography as a uniform social practice. But of course practices of tourist photography vary from one cultural domain to the next, as well as over time. For example, recent decades have added the video camera to the tourist's equipage and largely subtracted the tourist slide show. The video camera has enabled the visual record of the tourist to reach new heights of production, narrative illusion, and spectacle. Nonetheless, some of the salient properties of the social practice of tourist photography, at least in my experience, persist.



Day of the Dead skeletons in Oaxaca, Mexico

Robin Kelsey, Assistant Professor in the History of Art and Architecture Department at Harvard, teaches courses in the history of photography. His parents, who are anthropologists, initiated his education in tourism when he was nine years old, during a family summer in Patzcuaro, Mexico.





Top: selling veggies in Mexico; bottom: La Habana/Playa del Este

Retracing and Mapping

Tourism's Landscape of Knowledge

BY JAFAR JAFARI

OURISM RESEARCH AND SCHOLARSHIP IS A FAIRLY NEW INTERdisciplinary field, and I hope to offer an abbreviated pastiche of this expanding field of knowledge, culled from my own experience. I'm using my own entrance to and journey through tourism scholarship as the basis for streamlined comments and observations on the subject. Although not my style, I'm writing this article in the first person. The format and overall scope were suggested by the editor of *ReVista*, to which I agreed, especially upon



learning that it would be published in the issue devoted to tourism studies. I always welcome opportunities that allow discussion of advancements in this field with outside audiences, such as those typically reached by *ReVista*.

Tourism as an *industry* has a long and illustrious history to its own credit. Among other things, it traces its evolution from early days when a privileged few traveled once in a life time, to eras when this practice became relatively more popular due to improved economic conditions and increased knowledge of other peoples and places, to times when technology (particularly transportation) took its many small and giant leaps, and to the present when mass tourism is experienced in practically all countries, either as generating markets, receiving destinations, or both. In 2000, according to published sources, some 698 million international tourists spent \$476 billion to see the world. Significantly this volume excludes domestic tourism practiced within national boundaries, which actually constitutes the bulk of what this industry represents globally.

This continuous growth and expansion over many centuries eventually led to an initially modest vista which revealed tourism as a field of investigation, a phenomenon to be studied and understood. Its emergence, as a thrust or a "by-product", became more evident after World War II, when many countries (re)discovered the industry as a tool for rebuilding and re-energizing tired and exhaust-

ed economies. During the post-war years, particularly in the 60s, studies championed tourism chiefly for its economic properties, such as its contribution to growth and development, its ability to generate jobs, and its "natural" disposition to earn foreign exchange, badly needed to import goods and services for economic diversification. Elsewhere I have labeled this monodisciplinary treatment and somewhat orchestrated voice as the *Advocacy Platform* for the industry, which broadcast (and is still doing so) all that is consid-

ered good about it and hence advocating its worldwide development and expansion.

This one-sided economic position led to the *Cautionary Plat-form*, representing studies and views which argue that tourism is not all benefits and, significantly, comes with many sociocultural and even economic costs. Researchers mostly from other social science fields such as anthropology occupied this position. Their resulting publications, especially characteristic of the 70s, mainly focused on the "dark side" of the industry and cautioned host countries against its perceived and documented costs and unwanted consequences.

After the advocacy and cautionary voices were heard, many researchers began to examine different forms of tourism development, arguing that all are not equal and indeed some are more desirable than others. This voice was heard from the

Adaptancy Platform, favoring one alternative over another,

with its loudest pitch during the 80s. The resulting writings favored such forms as agritourism, cultural tourism, ecotourism, rural tourism, small-scale tourism, sustainable tourism, among others, without forgetting to name mass tourism of today—dominant even during earlier decades—as a form or alternative in its own right.

These three voices, at times being heard simultaneously—both then and today—led to the formation of the Knowledge-based Platform in the 90s. This development marks the beginning of an informed visionary mission of utilizing scientific research processes for a scientification journey into the landscape of knowledge that was unorchestratedly and fragmentedly formed during years preceding it. By this time, the advocacy, cautionary, and adaptancy positions had been articulated and their combined terrains



formed the basis of the fourth platform which favored a holistic/multidisciplinary treatment and understanding of tourism: to reveal its structures and functions, to formulate concepts or theories that explain it, to apply research tools and methods which best suggest its nature and substance, and more. This journey of expedition for making pathways into the landscape, marking and mapping its fields, and naming and celebrating its achievements has been marshaled by a growing army of mainly academic researchers. Many are heading every which way, but all intend to expand the knowledge boundaries and to fortify the scientific constitution of the field.

Today's researchers did not all start their tourism work at the same time and actually each entered the landscape through different "back doors" for diverse stated and unstated reasons. To take my case as an example, its distance vista opened to me with my first job as a tour guide, an activity that by its very nature sees various sectors of the industry interactively. This experience in itself suggested the big picture and the prospects of entering it

by studying tourism at university level. In the mid-60s, as no US universities offered degrees in this field, I found my way to Cornell University, where I pursued a BS degree in Hotel Management. Soon it became evident that the day-to-day operational aspects of the hotel sector did not appeal to me. By the time I was a senior, I had decided that graduate school was my game, but not

knowing how I could find entrance to fields broader than hotel management, I sought a social sciences approach which would open multidisciplinary perspectives on tourism to me.

Facing the realities of the time, and the unseated position of tourism on U.S. university campuses, I decided to pursue an MS in Hotel



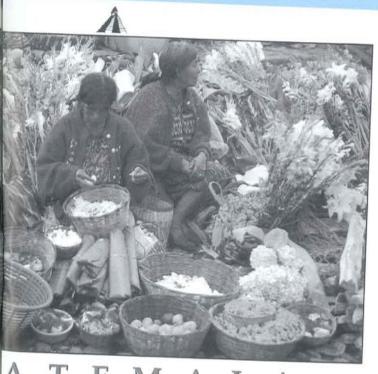
The knowledge-based platform for understanding tourism marks the beginning of an informed visionary mission of utilizing scientific research processed in a multidisciplinary fashion.

Administration at the same institution, but with the intent of reaching out beyond the academic confines of the program, something that my academic advisor enthusiastically accommodated. I selected a minor in international relations and informally worked with a cultural anthropologist on the campus. Probably this amounted to

the extent of my outreach without raising unwanted questions from the traditional graduate program in which I was registered. These calculated outreaches afforded me the basic scope and substance for writing a thesis in 1973 on the role of tourism in developing countries.

At this juncture, I decided to contribute to the industry by entering the tourism education and training field. Thus, I joined the University of Wisconsin-Stout whose Hotel Management program was five years old at the time. I was attracted to this campus because of its willingness to feature tourism in its curriculum. The earlier years of graduate studies had already frustrated me with the single-minded advocacy voices and positions, leading me to strongly feel that a new medium was needed to foster development of other perspectives on tourism, especially the non-economic, whether positive or negative. The missing treatment became the focus and thrust of *Annals of Tourism Research*, which I started in late 1973, one semester after my entering the teaching field.

As expected, especially the advocacy/industry-oriented players or voices of the time did not receive the journal sympathetically. But then the cautionary platform had gained strength, and Annals started receiving increased attention, almost totally among members of the academic community. After some five years, the strategies of the journal led to the adoption of "A Social Sciences Journal" as its subtitle, to further encourage importa-



tion of theories and methods to tourism from these and other related fields. With an obvious tendency to favor research for the sake of research, with or without immediate applications in the industry, *Annals* parted way from the mainstream of the time; and with a definite commitment to the formation of knowledge as its raison d'etre, the journal was on its own. The then-favored quantita-



tive research methods, used to articulate/substantiate the economic contributions of tourism as an industry, started to make room in Annals for qualitative applications to the sociocultural dimensions of tourism as a phenomenon. Since this quarterly journal did not want to be an advocacy voice, it started with the cautionary and quickly found its way to the knowledge-based platform (almost bypassing the adaptancy calls). During the formative years of Annals, I completed my doctoral studies in cultural anthropology, a discipline which regularly brought nourishment to and inspiration for the journal's making and shaping.

Now in its 29th year of publication, *Annals* has some 100 editors from more than 30 countries, representing diverse multidisciplinary fields. Its 25th *Silver Anniversary Supplement* (which appeared in 1998) features its 1973-1998 subject index, as well as a complete list of over 2,000 authors and referees who, together with the edi-

tors, represent a dedicated army of "explorers" and "excavators" in this field. In the meantime, many new tourism journals have appeared, with each pushing the frontiers in a different direction, resulting in a fastgrowing knowledge-based landscape. Presently some 40 journals, as well as a

growing population of books are engaged in the scientification journey. For example, in the early 70s, there were only two or three tourism textbooks. Today, practically every week a few new books appear, produced by some very prestigious publishing houses worldwide. The number is much larger if one accounts for books (and journals) published in other languages.

In addition, other forces have been present and pushing the frontiers outward. For instance, initially tourism associations were doing their part in contributing to applied research. But there was need for a group exclusively committed to the advancement of knowledge in this field, without being necessarily concerned with imme-

diate applications or feeling obligated to please business-oriented audiences. Thus, in the early 80s this need led me to think about the formation of an independent academy. After discussion and work with a circle of recognized tourism scholars a few years of the International Academy for the Study of Tourism was formed in 1988. Admission to this Academy is judged on the basis of one's scholarly contribution to the advancement of tourism knowledge, requiring the entire membership to vote on each candidate for admission. With 75 positions as its maximum capacity, presently the Academy has about 70 members from some 25 countries. Its biennial meetings, open to the membership and their invited guests only, have already resulted in several scholarly books.

The production of diverse tourism reference books is another example of the maturation of tourism studies. One primary need was for an academic encyclopedia on the subject. After discussing this idea with a couple of publishers in mid-90s, I committed myself to act as its Chief Editor. Through the efforts of some 25 Associate Editors and over 350 authors worldwide to contribute to the making and shaping of its contents, the *Encyclopedia of Tourism* finally appeared in 2000. Its 1,200 plus entries (of various length) cover the building blocks of knowledge which structure and explain the study of tourism, more as a field of research than practice. With its publication another goal on this expedition was reached.

To retrace the earlier phases of the journey in order to acknowledge a land-shaping force in the field, during the advocacy era of the 60s only a handful of colleges and universities in the United States and elsewhere offered predominantly hotel management programs. Then suddenly came a shift in favor of combined hotel/tourism curricula and later freestanding tourism programs. These now offer BS, MS, and PhD programs and research opportunities, each acting as an academic fountain flowing into rivers of knowledge, together irrigating multidisciplinary fields for rewarding harvests. The pattern is international and this development is especially striking when compared with the popularity and growth of other fields.

Where is tourism heading from the present vantage point or conquered grounds? As already noted, its rapid growth and development as an *industry* has received plenty of attention. Its occasional slow-downs in some parts of the world, even as exceptional as the

It will become more evident to governments that tourism is not just a trade or an industry, but a socio-cultural right and privilege, to be studied and understood.

recent incident of the 2001 attack on the World Trade Center towers in New York City, will prove to be short-term pain for long-term gain, especially as governments, policymakers, and citizens of the world are now recognizing its multidimensional global importance. Hearing U.S. policymakers speak on behalf of tourism, and even seeing President Bush in television ads promoting travel and tourism, all suggest how strong the economic poles and fortresses of the industry have become and heading to. But, again, a discussion of tourism as an *industry* (its present shape and future prospects) belongs to another paper, and so does its full institutionalization in the everyday social fabric of peoples everywhere.

What marks the boundaries of this commentary is its focus on tourism *as a field of study and scholar-ship*. So what does lie ahead within the already established and outlying academic parameters?

To me, this forward movement will continue zealously, now more than before with a better sense of direction and informed vision. I see more scholarly journals taking their debuts in immediate years ahead, each wanting to carve out and contribute to a niche territory for itself, each trying to compete for a (the) lead position-a necessary academic exercise that should expedite the scientification course of tourism. The number of universities committing to the study will continue to grow, with many accommodating research rather than application of it as their thrusts. Various disciplines, especially social sciences, will more openly adopt tourism as a research area, both on campuses and in various disciplinary membership associations (a process which is already on its way). Other fields or disciplines will (re)discover tourism in new ways, as for example the deepseated but unexplored relationship of medicine/ health care/healthy lifestyle and tourism will be fully explored and "exploited". In a different vein, tourism-as a regular importer of knowledge from other fields in order to form its own building blocks-will more forcefully export knowledge to the very fields from which has been generously borrowing, with heavier flows ahead.

Further, it will become more evident to governments that tourism is not just a trade or an industry, but a phenomenon, a sociocultural right and privilege, a must for healthy life and economy, which must be studied and understood, and its uses and applications should not and cannot be limited to the economic fortune that it reportedly generates. With this recognition, gov-

ernment tourism offices (whether called Ministry, Secretary,

or Board of Tourism) will employ people who have studied tourism and understand it both as an industry and a phenomenon, a development that would be a drastic departure from the present profile of their personnel. The industry itself will finally be meeting its academic partner—which it has hardly "noticed" so far—and will begin to offer energizing support for its maintenance and the fueling of its forward mission, including financing graduate students in this field, funding more specialized endowed chairs, and confidently anchoring upon the multidisciplinary foundation that tourism has amassed during the past few decades.

To conclude, tourism—both as an industry and a sociocultural phenomenon/field of study, with strong national and international economic position and with firm footholds on major university campuses worldwide—is here to stay, with its journey continuing toward its well-deserved summits. The past achievements will soon seem meager as it nears its destined horizons, with many histories



to be written to record and cele-

brate its multidisciplinary scientification, detailing challenges faced, and peaks conquered. This coming of age (with the above undercurrents as examples) promises deserving occasions to celebrate the heightening of scholarship in this academic field.

Jafar Jafari is Editor-in-Chief of Annals of Tourism Research and Founding President of International Academy for the Study of Tourism. He can be reached by e-mail at <jafari@uwstout.edu>He would like to observe that the substance of this brief paper is in keeping with the invitation extended to him by the editor of ReVista: "Had the same invitation been extended to someone else—to present an outline of the landmarks in his/her academic journey in the field of tourism—a different paper with different examples would have been produced. Although clear, this disclaimer seems especially in order in this burgeoning field of study."



Nine Quandaries of Tourism

Artificial Authenticity and Beyond

BY CHERYL SHANKS

NTERNATIONAL TOURISM PRESENTS ITSELF AS STRAIGHTFORWARD, passive and benign, yet it is complex, interesting and important, full of contradictions and depths. Tourism is the world's largest export, yet it is ephemeral, produced within an encounter, usually fleeting, between host and guest. It has enormous growth potential; almost every country desires an expansion in this sector. Yet whether and how to grow is not nearly as straightforward as one might hope. Because each tourist and each native brings along a unique jumble of expectations, knowledge, power, and aspirations, multiplying tourist encounters transforms the tourist and the native, and can permanently alter the social and political contexts in which they live. When these personal encounters increase in number, they have extensive and complicated consequences for cultures, natural environments, and politics as well as local and international economies.

When people who are so different—who believe they are so

different, as we do not go to visit ourselves—brush up against each other, they exchange more than cash. Tourism always contains a message: this is what we value, this is what we don't. Tourists come to see some things and not others; they vote with their money but also with their feet and their eyes and ears. Local people look back, and change as a result. Natural sites and ceremonies change in response to the presence of tourists.

Studies of tourism often describe contradiction. Men who dress as native warriors at work go home to microwaves and VCRs. Before television news interviews, Amazonian Indians dress in body paint and feathers, a costume they have never before even seen, to increase their aura of authenticity. Twists and contradictions operate both within and between the areas usually marked out as disciplinary property. In studying a tourist encounter, we can integrate information about income with insights about language and cosmolo-

gy to better understand the tourist encounter's depth and subtlety while retaining analytical precision and attention to the particular detail. Studying specific tourist sites or particular encounters complicates generalizations about victimization and control, authenticity, the desires of those involved, the priority of material interest, and the nature of culture.

Here are nine of tourism's paradoxes:

1. ONLY THROUGH ARTIFICE CAN LOCALS MEET THE TOURIST DEMAND FOR AUTHENTICITY.

By definition, tourists travel to see and knowingly to encounter the different, the original, the authentic. In this globalizing world, what they want is regional and unique. Only through display and packaging are they confident about what is worthy of attention. As Dean MacCannell explains in *The Tourist*, there must be an obvious front to an attraction; only by going through it into the "back" do tourists know themselves to be in the zone of the authentic. Natural sites, too, need to be framed. Gates, permits, and interpretive texts set them apart from the mundane. Complicated framing and staging allow tourists to recognize, by sight, "the actual thing." Of course, living culture and the natural world are characterized by being integral, not at all separated.

2. TO CAPITALIZE ON WHAT YOU ALREADY HAVE, YOU MUST BORROW.

Tourism can provide the ideal export for developing countries, which avoid debt by capitalizing on what they already have: a unique culture, a singular natural environment, and a definite place in world history. Countries can, however, capitalize on what they already have only if they already have airports, hotels, major sanitation facilities, local transportation, hydroelectric plants, medical facilities, and hotels. If not, the government faces a choice. It could build them itself. The financing would come from foreign lenders, placing the country in debt, or come from local tax revenue, making local people pay for major infrastructure and services that will only be used by outsiders. Or the government could allow others to build. With foreign investment, the country relieves itself of providing capital, but foregoes profits.

3. WHAT IS ENVIRONMENTALLY SUSTAINABLE IS OFTEN UNPROFITABLE AND INSULTING.

Environmental degradation results from tourism as well as from general human activity. Ecotourism developed as a way to prevent and reverse this damage. Ecotourists distance themselves from mainstream hotel tourists, and also from adventure tourists like those who have, famously, fouled the base of Everest. They pay to sleep in tents on platforms in tropical rainforests, to swim along reefs, to walk over a tree canopy on a net bridge. They value the ecosystem as it is and are willing to pay for its preservation. In this way, they create an incentive for local people to refrain from using natural resources for short-term gain.

What is fortunate for the birds is not always so fortunate for the local people. In order to be environmentally sustainable, ecotourists have to be few in number. The economies of scale that allow tourism to be profitable cannot operate in a small bush camp. Camping doesn't generate much revenue. Ecotourism proves that tourism does not have to be in conflict with environmental preservation. Unfortunately, it also proves that the realm in which the environment and the economy can be mutually supporting is tiny.

In addition, Westerners' interest in biodiversity stands in contrast to their indifference to the local human community. The tourist wants to listen to a parrot, not a local elder. Dollars bypass beggars on their way to support trees. Ecotourism can send the message that nature is more interesting and valuable than local people.

4. COMMODIFYING CULTURE SIMULTANEOUSLY PRESERVES, TRANSFORMS, AND DESTROYS IT.

Tourism places a premium on the parts of a culture that are visible such as handicrafts, costume, and architecture, and slides over those that are not, like the rules governing seating on a bus, assumptions about clergy, or bases for legitimate authority; in this way, tourism favors what can be commodified. Yet commodities can be produced most efficiently using industrial machinery taking advantage of economies of scale, an option closed to village artisans. One way to preserve traditional crafts and folkways is to market tradition, in effect using the production process and ethnic-heritage connection as a brand name that increases the value of an otherwise uncompetitive item.

Because souvenir stores sell baskets, weavings, carvings and preserved foods, all typically produced by women, the result of exposure to the market can be to raise the position of women relative to men, and the position of the household economy relative to that of the formal economy. It also alienates the producer from what is being produced, as mass production eschews meaning. When noncommodities, such as religious objects, go up for sale, not only does





Opposite page: Mariachis in Mexico; top: Macchu Picchu; bottom: Macchu Picchu bus

LOOKING AT TOURISM









From top: dancers in Bolivia; street scene in Brazil; snow in Patagonia; exploring Macchu Picchu; opposite page: llamas in Bolivia

their status fall, but their price tags give a clear sense of the worth powerful people accord them.

5. MONEY TOURISTS SPEND TO VACATION IN THE SOUTH NEVER REACHES THE SOUTH.

Tourists of every stripe give most of their money to corporations headquartered in and owned by the wealthy countries. They buy airline tickets from Air France, hotel rooms from Westin, rental cars from National. Vacationers buy their luggage, bathing suits and fishing gear at local malls and specialty shops before they leave home.

New hotel chains bring blueprints and contractors of their own, marketing departments and managers who come with the hotel. When tourists buy packages—inclusive meals, rental car-airline-hotel combination deals—their spending is contained, literally, within the corporate fortress, whose goal is to contain "leakage." Even produce can be shipped in. Ecotourism has this same potential. Package tours that pay for tents and guides through wilderness areas are labor-intensive rather than capital-intensive, but still the revenue ends up with British airlines or Canadian tour packagers.

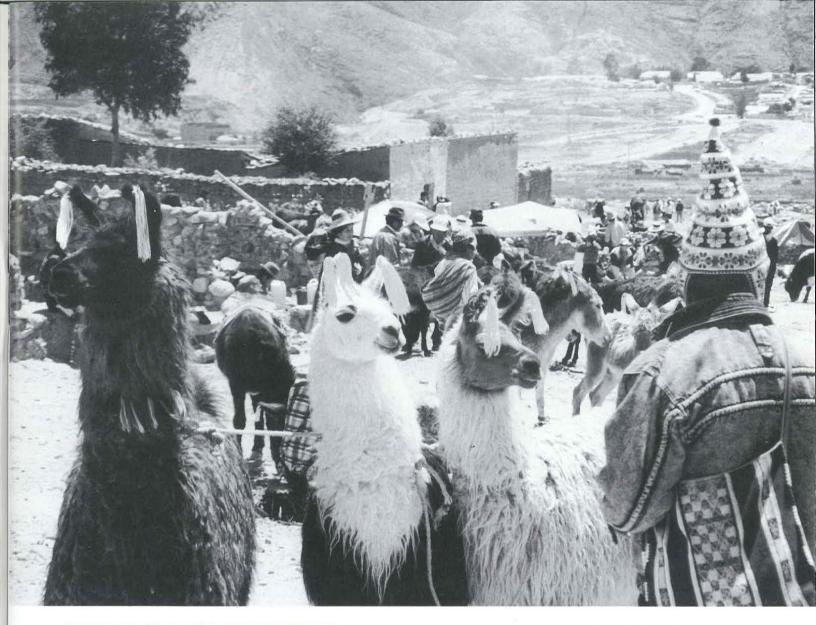
6. GOVERNMENTS PURSUE TOURISM TO BENEFIT THE LOCAL PEOPLE, BUT IN THE PROCESS BECOME ORIENTED TOWARD OUTSIDERS AND AWAY FROM THEIR CITIZENS.

Tourism promotes an external orientation. Like other exports, the "tourism experience" is produced by local people, and consumed by foreigners. Unlike other exports, it is consumed in the country of production. This "natural" external quality combines with international lending conditions to orient the government to foreign, rather than domestic, interests. To obtain loans and ultimately create revenue, a government (of whatever size) has to please outside investors and potential travelers. Once an airport is built, there are advantages to economy of scale, yet that prevents economic diversification, making the entire economy more dependent on a single, outward-oriented sector. In these ways, tourism lends itself to politics with an authoritarian cast.

7. ATTEMPTS TO PRESENT LIVING NATURE OR CULTURE TO TOURISTS (OR THOSE TO PROTECT THEM FROM TOURISTS) HAVE THE EFFECT OF DEADENING THEM.

Cultural idiosyncrasies and natural spectacles change over time. Tourists can't be attracted, however, to an unstable and ambiguous culture, nor to a natural site that is in the process of transforming itself. As a consequence, efforts are made to fix and standardize: folk dances, tortilla-making, and peace pipes, bird habitats and the course of the Amazon have all been bounded and defined. Real life proceeds around them. Had they not been fixed, however, they would not be accessible.

Much of the cultural change that has to be hidden comes from tourism itself. Tourists look, but locals look back. They see bikinis, independent women, wasted food. They see Westerners wanting to have their pictures taken with locals, but not to pay them or offer a favor in exchange. Insofar as culture involves subtle valuations, etiquette, and meanings, tourists at a minimum present an alternative to local culture, and at maximum a critique of it. Quarantining tourists in hotels and resorts, or self-quarantining in tents, helps to avoids cultural contamination and commodifiation, but at an economic cost: tourist dollars never enter the local economy.



8. TOURISM IS AT THE SAME TIME THE BEST POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENT SECTOR AND THE MOST TREACHEROUS.

Whoever owns and runs the main tourist industries profits. Visitors to and employees of hotels and museums, corporate shareholders and state officials, all can benefit. Prairies can suddenly become an asset. Taxes levied on tourists can fund public schools, courts and police. The tourist enjoys a luxurious holiday, and in exchange local employees, shareholders, and the state all benefit directly. Many more benefit indirectly as dollars multiply through the regional economy.

Tourism is, however, a risky investment. Owners have to be careful not to price themselves out of the market. Even unique sites compete with others. Beach or jungle countries are interchangeable in tourists' eyes. Investments can't be guaranteed. Small islands and remote provinces have to maintain airports capable of handling international jumbo jets, have to create roads used mainly by tourists and to provide fresh water for hotels, yet volume can be cut to less than half in one day, with a single hurricane, or a terrorist attack; it can peter out more slowly as a resort becomes declassé. Empty hotels, wildlife sanctuaries, and jet-skis can't then be turned into anything that local people need.

When successful, countries and localities are faced with a dilemma: allow it to remain an enclave sector, limited in benefits, or force it to grow roots, extending benefits but also deepening dependence on a single, fickle industry. When unsuccessful, tourism investment is an economic loss like any other, with an added twist. Governments cannot declare bankruptcy, but are stuck with their losses.

9. TOURISM PRETENDS TO BE APOLITICAL, BUT IT ENCAPSULATES PROBLEMS OF POWER AND WORTH ON A GRAND AND GLOBAL SCALE; IT PRETENDS TO BE PASSIVE, YET IT IS PRODUCED BY AN ENCOUNTER BETWEEN HOST AND GUEST IN WHICH ANYTHING IS POSSIBLE.

When tourists encounter local people, they bring with them the weight of their expectations, their leisure and their power. Locals see this, and respond: they react against it, make a counter offer, or adapt to expectations. This seemingly trivial exchange can have profound economic, environmental, cultural and political effects, not only on individuals but on the global political economy.

Cheryl Shanks is an associate professor of political science at Williams College. She is the author of Immigration and the Politics of American Sovereignty, 1890-1990, and articles on international organization. Her current research focuses on territoriality. She teaches on the politics of global tourism at Williams College.

From Trek Leader to the Research Track

An Insider's Look at Tourism

BY ROBERT FARIS

ing the world a smaller place. I led treks into the remote and mountainous terrain of Nepal, India, Bhutan and Tibet, escorting small armies of intruders from North America armed with cameras, journals and dreams of adventure. The allure of the high mountains and exotic cultures provided the draw. We made it possible for many who would not have otherwise come, by handling the logistics and easing the trepidations of travel.

Today, as a researcher for Harvard's Center for International Development, I focus on the issues of economic development and environment affecting Latin America. I tend these days to resort to the tools and jargon of economics, but the questions are the very same. Today, as in those long-ago treks, I ask myself how developing countries can find a way to balance revenue generation and the protection of natural and cultural heritage.

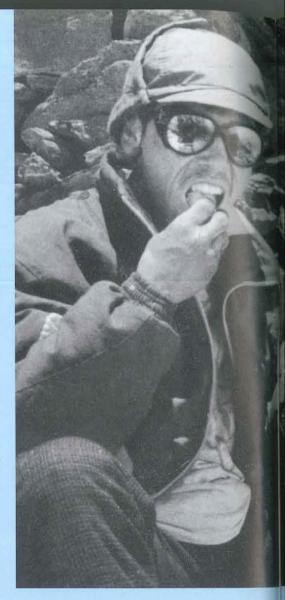
I doubt that I had ever heard the term ecotourism when I worked in the tourist industry in the mid-1980s, although we tried to limit the detrimental impact of our treks. It's fair to say that it borders on farcical to imply that we were low impact. For an average group of twelve tourists, we would typically have an equal number of guides and cooks, plus a team of either 15 yaks, 25 horses or 30 porters. We traveled with tents, tables, chairs and a fully outfitted kitchen. Kerosene lamps lit the dining tent for the soup, lasagna and apple pie with herbal tea.

Limiting our impact on the landscape turned out to be rather easy. We cleaned up the campsites, burned the paper, buried organic materials and waste, and carried out the tin cans. We burned no firewood despite the temptation to warm our feet under the stars at night. When I say it was easy, I wasn't the one carrying the kerosene. When using porters, there would be porters carrying kerosene for the porters, adding more numbers to the parade. Still,

this had no appreciable impact on the bottom line and was popular with our clients who were almost always conscientious and well intentioned. Selling our local guides on implementing these practices was an ongoing discussion and lesson in cross-cultural tolerance. My South Asian counterparts often giggled at my insistence that our film boxes and tea bags shouldn't litter the trail, though in the end humored me. Not all tried as hard as we to reduce the environmental impacts of the trekking business. Dwindling firewood supplies continue to fuel most of the tourist industry, while a few initiatives, for example in the Annapurna Sanctuary, have demonstrated the viability and benefits of more sustainable alternatives.

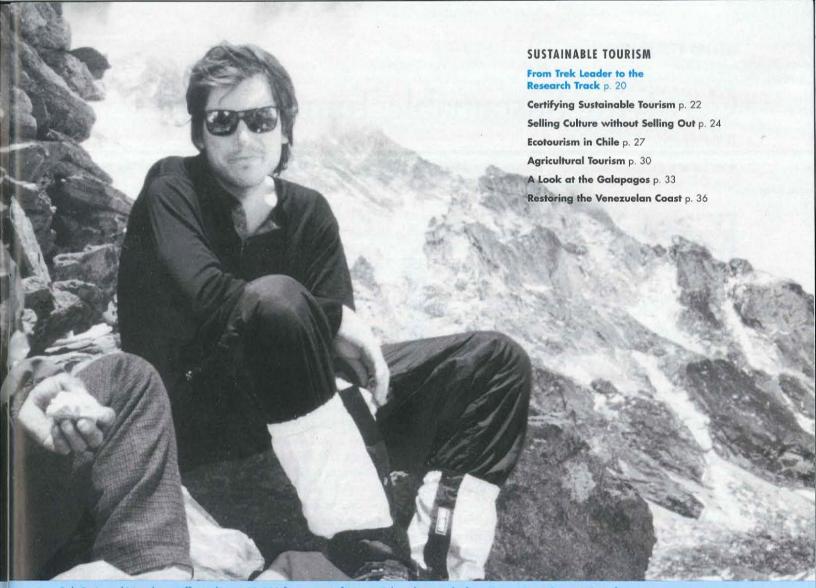
The cultural influences we brought to bear were not so easy to sanitize. Far from being casual observers, our presence was undeniable. We were clad in bright colors and reeked of affluence—the colors of the Patagonia catalogue can be easily spotted from a few thousand feet away. As a rule, we tried to discourage the urge to play Santa Claus that must have seemed appropriate to many of those that preceded us. The children along the trails seemed to have trained the visitors to distribute candy, pencils, money, and medicine. If only pencils could improve education or if Band-Aids were meant to be worn for weeks over festering wounds, I'd have been more sympathetic to this idea. As an alternative, we encouraged sharing songs or jokes. We also encouraged our clients to send us pictures of locals that could be distributed on future trips, so that their pictures could appear in their own houses, not only starring in slide shows across the Western hemisphere. In keeping with local practices, we recommended that our female clients wear skirts and men keep their shirts on.

Not only were we taking in the sights, but also we provided a snapshot of life in the West years before satellite dishes provided a different slice of Western culture on more than



a hundred channels. The exchange of cultural norms and mores was remarkably complete. Amid the dancing and sharing of stories from home, romantic interludes were not unusual. This confluence of wealth and poverty was often heartbreaking and an enduring lesson for all. Most of the locals I worked with would have traded their mountain views and strong family ties for a ranch-style house and a 4x4 in a heartbeat. Without contemplating the wisdom or the inevitability of these changes, this contributes to an erosion of a unique way of life, a gradual tearing at the social fabric.

For the tourists—if one discounts the jet lag, altitude sickness, intestinal distress and exhaustion—this cultural interaction was unquestionably a great experience. In seven years, no one ever told me they regretted their choice, while more than a few characterized the journey as life changing. Never did I stop wondering whether this was a good exchange for the hosts, although they were always tremendously gracious, open and curious despite the parade coming through their yards



Rob Faris and Nepalese staff member at 18,500 feet on top of Mount Kalapathar overlooking Everest Base Camp in Nepal

and sipping tea in their kitchens.

I had the opportunity to witness the undeniable economic impact of tourism. In Nepal, a vibrant tourism sector employs thousandsknitting sweaters, baking brownies and dragging trekkers through the mountains. The tourist sector is one of the few industries that offer opportunities for advancement based on merit. In my seven years there, I saw more than a few Nepalis build a comfortable life for themselves and their family with nothing more than intelligence and hard work. Without tourism, their options would not have included much more than inheriting a plot of land too small for subsistence or working in the match factory for a dollar a day. In Kashmir, working on the lakeside houseboats or on treks was often a welcome alternative to tying thousands of tiny knots day in and day out for the carpet industry. In Tibet and Bhutan, the tourism industry provided many fewer jobs, mainly for the better educated. Tourism is notoriously fickle, and the larger the sector grows, the greater the number of people hurt by the next international crisis keeping tourists at home. Even in good times, the economic impact of tourism is not all good. Inflationary pressures and competition for resources often creates winners and losers whether it be the price of a kilo of meat in the mountains or a taxi ride in the capital.

My context for understanding tourism and its economic, environmental, and cultural impact has changed. As I focus on Latin America, I still find the same issues. And the bitter irony remains the same. Tourism feeds off of the very resource that it relies upon. Whether in the Galapagos, the Bay Islands of Honduras or in the far reaches of the Himalaya, tourism brings both the potential to contribute to the preservation of the resources which sustain it and the potential to hasten their demise. We've come a long way over the past twenty years in bringing the awareness of sustainability into everyday consciousness. In the tourism industry this has taken the form of a call for ecotourism and heritage-based tourism. While

tourism, as any other economic activity, is not without its negative aspects, we know that this rapidly growing segment of the market holds great promise to contribute to development that is both sustainable and equitable. The outcome is not inevitable. Achieving this vision will require wisdom, leadership and a common long-term vision. I remain guardedly optimistic.

Robert Faris is a research associate at Harvard's Center for International Development. His research interests focus on the role of natural resources and environmental management in economic development. Currently, he is working on the issues of natural resource dependence and environmental regulation in the Andean countries, as well as developing a project on the management of dry lands. He has taught environmental economics at workshops and international seminars and has conducted applied policy research in numerous countries in Asia and Latin America.

Certifying Sustainable Tourism

Why Should You Care?

BY LAWRENCE PRATT

nvironmental practices strongly influence the way tourists choose their vacation spots. Increasingly they expect to see methods in place to protect and conserve nature in the areas they visit.

As a response to this growing concern, a group of public and private entities in Costa Rica have joined together to develop a Certification in Sustainable Tourism Program. The Harvard Business School-affiliated Central American Business Administration Institute (INCAE) had a key academic and technical participation during the development and implementation of the program, as did the University of Costa Rica (UCR).

"Sustainable tourism" is the term used to describe policies, practices, and programs that take into account not only tourists' expectations about responsible management practices, but also the expectations of local communities and the quality of life of their people. For tourism, sustainability is not only a response to the demand factors of the industry; it is an indispensable condition to be able to compete successfully and, even more importantly, to be able to survive over the long run.

Sustainability, as a model for development, refers to the need to satisfy the requirements of today's society without making it impossible for future generations to satisfy their own. It prescribes that the development of a country cannot be achieved by the unrestrained exploitation of its resources (natural, cultural, social, etc.) to the point of extinguishing or destroying them, seeking to fulfill the needs of the present population (food, housing, health,

"Sustainable tourism" takes into account not only tourists' expectations about responsible management practices, but the expectations and the quality of life of the local community.

work, etc.), without recognizing that these resources are the only platform, or potential asset, that the future generations of this country will have to meet their own needs.

Based on this approach, in 1998 the Costa Rican Tourism Institute (CTI) and the Costa Rican National Accreditation Commission (NAC) developed the Certification in Sustainable Tourism (CST) program, that seeks to categorize and certify each tourism company according to the degree to which its operations comply with a model of sustainability (including natural, cultural, and social resource management). In addition to CTI and NAC, the public sector is represented by the Costa Rican Environment & Energy Ministry (MINAE) and the Biodiversity National Institute (InBio). The private sector is represented by the National Tourism Chamber, with the active participation of international organizations such as The Earth Council.

Hotels, inns, cabins, and bed & breakfasts services can participate on a voluntary basis without restriction as to their location (beaches, mountains, etc.) or their size. Rating factors fall into four categories: physical-biological environment; facilities and infrastructure; guest relations; and social-economic environment. Very specific questions are posed in each of the categories to measure practical dimensions of sustainability and to score the firm on demonstrated practices.

The CST program provides a system of "sustainability levels" on a scale of 0 to 5, in which each number indicates the relative position of the firm in terms of sustainability. On site inspections by qualified assessors determine the level of compliance and ultimate sustainable tourism classification.

The CST system is designed to include a series of incentives that increase benefits to each company in direct proportion to its increased rating. In other words, as a particular company's practices become more sustainable, it receives more and better benefits, such as international and national marketing promotion, personnel training, and priority participation in various world tourism events.

The Costa Rican Tourism Institute has identified three main impacts resulting from the development of CST:

For the national tourism industry, CST represents a new form of competition—a new way to differentiate our tourist industry with respect to our competitors, and one which enhances those tourism products which show a commitment to sustainability,

opening new possibilities for marketing and international promotion. Moreover, this program directly attacks the problem generated by the unethical behavior of some companies operating as "greenwashers" (abusing the concepts of "eco" and/or "sustainability"), by providing reliable information on the firms that are really mak-

ing progress in producing a tourist product that is sustainable. Undoubtedly, this will enhance the country's image as an authentic naturalist tourist destination, thus increasing considerably the competitiveness of our national tourism product.

For the tourism entrepreneur, this program provides the business person with an opportunity for utilizing a new element of competition, based on a new way of differentiating his product, a concept that will be fully reinforced and enhanced in the national and international tourism promotional programs.

The CST motivates tourism executives to improve their use of company resources, promoting savings and their efficient utilization.

For other productive sectors, the CST program opens up opportunities for the development and production of goods and services by firms with a sustainable orientation. The demand for recyclable and reusable products, for water and energy-saving devices, for efficient systems for the proper disposal of waste matter, for better systems of information management, as well as many others, will be the key that opens a new market for products that are environmentally friendly.

TOWARDS AN INTERNATIONAL CST PROGRAM

The World Tourism Organization (WTO) Committee on Sustainable Tourism has been favorably impressed by Costa Rica's comprehensive, cost-effective Certification in Sustainable Tourism (CST) program and is citing Costa Rica as a model for the effectiveness of certification programs for sustainable tourism.

The critical ingredient in any certification program is summed

up in one word: credibility. Those responsible for the CST, particularly ICT's Natural Resources Department, and INCAE's Latin American Center for Competitiveness and Sustainable Development are aware of what constitutes a credible system that could be implemented worldwide.

The essential elements of any certification program are part of the process of "conformity assessment"—essential for suppliers, consumers, and regulators. It enables conscientious producers to distinguish their products from those made by less reputable ones. It provides consumers with a reliable means to select products in the marketplace and enables government agencies to enforce regulations that protect the public's health and safety.

The Certification in Sustainable Tourism program in Costa Rica, as well as worldwide, could become a more comprehensive system that addresses all aspects of tourism (see table). Of the more than two dozen ecotourism certification programs that currently exist, nearly every one is focused exclusively on hotels. But tourism involves much more than hotels.

Some Tourism Subsectors with Potential for Sustainable Tourism Certification:

GUIDES
TOUR OPERATORS
CAMP GROUNDS
CARAVAN PARKS
FOOD SERVICES
PORT FACILITIES
MARINAS
AIRPORTS
TAXIS
TOUR BUSES
TOUR BOATS
DIVE BOATS

RECYCLING CENTERS

BEACHES
GOLF COURSES
NATURE RESERVES
FOREST SAFARIS
RIVER SAFARIS
REEF DIVE OPERATIONS
ADVENTURE TOURS
YACHT CHARTER OPERATIONS
AQUATIC SPORTS CENTERS
AMUSEMENT PARKS
MUSEUMS
ARCHEOLOGICAL SITES

INFORMATION CENTERS Source: Toth, R. (2000), Implementing a Worldwide Sustainable Tourism Certification System. Working paper CEN662, INCAE-CLACDS, June 2000

It appears that the most efficient and cost effective way to implement a worldwide CST system is to contract with already accredited national (not the large commercial multinational) certifiers that are motivated to work with, and under the direction of an international CST organization. In the many countries that do not have such organizations it will be necessary to service them directly. Eventually, as the system gains momentum and experience, it may be appropriate in some countries to delegate administration to national or regional "chapters" or affiliated organizations.

The ultimate need is a cost-effective, credible conformity assessment system, not just a certification program. A particular challenge is that, unlike sectors with long-established conformity assess-

The Certification in Sustainable Tourism program in Costa Rica could become a more comprehensive system that addresses all aspects of tourism.

ment practices, the tourism sector does not yet have in place some of the system components or infrastructure that would expedite implementation of CST. However, there is no need to "reinvent the wheel" as proven models, and widely-used effective procedures have been amply documented, tested, and implemented worldwide.

Taking into account these and other considerations, INCAE researcher Toth considered some appropriate structures for a global CST system—incorporating those characteristics that engender recognition and acceptance, and benefit from lessons learned at other certification programs. He evaluated the core administrative unit; four approaches for implementing the overall system, and two options for governance. One is a cooperative arrangement with the WTO, and the other a more integrated relationship. He also proposed an International Sustainable Tourism Commission (ISTC)—an autonomous body functioning as an executing agency of the WTO.

Such a system would encourage research and development and facilitate technology transfers, as well as provide training for auditors and certificate applicants. Review and appeal panels would ensure the equity of the certification process. The Conformity Review Panel would assure uniform interpretation and application of CST standards through spot check assessments of facilities that have been certified. It is also responsible for the qualifications of auditors.

An assessment of the pros and cons of the different approaches for awarding certification indicates that no single approach will suffice for certification in all countries of the world because of the lack of infrastructure in some countries which are major tourist destinations, and insufficient market in others to attract commercial certifiers. However, what is clear is that a process of certification makes sustainable tourism more credible and provides an incentive for its development.

Lawrence Pratt is associate director of the Latin American Center for Competitiveness and Sustainable Development (CLACDS), an INCAE project based in Costa Rica and funded by the Central American Bank for Economic Integration (CABEI), the AVINA Foundation, and the Central American private sector.

Selling Culture without Selling Out

Community Ecotourism in the Global Economy

BY DAVID EDELI

HE RICANCIE COMMUNITY ECOTOURISM project in the lowland Quichua Indian community at Runa Huasi embraces two rivers. Winding northward through Amazonian indigenous lands, Río Arajuno brings Indians in canoes cut from trees deep within the forest, Quichua youth on fishing expeditions, and relatives visiting with bundles of food. Just east of Runa Huasi, Río Arajuno disappears into the Río Napo, a wider and shallower river that transports European and North American tourists and their global culture in motorized canoes down from the provincial capital of Tena.

Many Runa Huasi residents live on an island created by the two rivers as they flirt and tangle with one another intermittently until finally joining once and for all to flow east toward the mouth of the Amazon. Like the cultures that they carry, the rivers periodically change course, coming together and pulling apart, fertilizing Runa Huasi with rich silt deposited from land far upstream.

After a canoe from Tena deftly navigates between the flows of the two rivers at their confluence to motor upstream on Río Arajuno, the community's ecotourism cabañas come into view. Tourists smile and take pictures. "This is Runa Huasi or 'house of our people,'" the guide explains. "It offers the experience of cultural exchange and community life, health and shamanism, and of course, relaxation in the mystical Amazon Rainforest."

THE RICANCIE PROJECT AND THE INDIGE-NOUS MOVEMENT

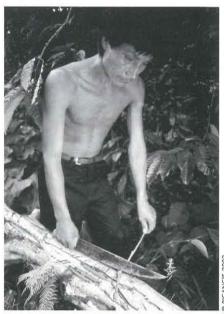
The RICANCIE indigenous ecotourism project—a network of ten lowland Quichua communities in the Ecuadorian Amazonian province of Napo—grew out of the 1970's struggles of Napo Quichua communities to organize themselves. Faced with the everaccelerating colonization of their land and resources by the Ecuadorian state, extractive industries, and migrants from the Andes, Quichua leaders conceptualized the project as part of the third phase of organiz-



Lowland Quichua girl at farmers' market

ing by the Federation of Indigenous Organizations of the Napo (FOIN). After securing land titles for most of their communities and helping to pressure the national government to create a bilingual education system in the late 1980's, FOIN began looking for development alternatives. Ever since the multinational oil giant Texaco struck oil in the Sucumbíos province north of Napo in the late 1960's, oil companies had been knocking at the door of the Napo Quichua. As witnesses to the severe deforestation and toxic contamination in Sucumbíos, FOIN leaders knew that they needed alternatives to fund territorial defense and development projects without resorting to the destructive development of multinational oil, mining and timber interests.

Non-Indian guides working out of Quito and Tena had already begun to bring foreign tourists down the Napo River to Quichua communities by the late 1980's. The unplanned influx of visitors and money caused problems as guides paid some families but not others, dividing communities and angering residents. Organization leaders, however, saw opportunity in the chaos. It took five months, forty people, and twen-



RICANCIE guide with machete

ty deforested acres to sell enough corn to pay for the basic supplies for a rural school and the fares required to send local leaders to Tena to defend indigenous land. The leaders figured out that the community could earn that very same amount with one person working for three days in tourism, with the added bonus of conserving the environment instead of deforesting for agriculture. Despite scattered doubts and lack of knowledge about tourism, the benefits seemed to far outweigh the costs.

In 1990, Napo Quichua leaders began looking for financing for a project that would eventually become known as "RICANCIE," short for Indigenous Community Network of the Upper Napo for Intercultural Exchange and Ecotourism. The project, founded in 1993, aimed to improve the quality of life in participating communities. It sought to defend indigenous territory from globalizing oil and mining interests. In a move to take advantage of the other face of globalization, thirty interested communities sent representatives to an assembly that would control a project to find international tourists and bring them to Quichua communities. A small administrative office

was set up in Tena for marketing and logistics; participating communities began to construct cabañas and catalogue their tourism attractions.

SELLING CULTURE OR SELLING OUT?

While the economic benefits of ecotourism appear undeniable, the question regarding the effects of selling culture on tradition and self-esteem sets off alarms in both the every-day conversations in Quichua communities and the academic debates of anthropologists and development workers.

Over a mid-afternoon snack on the deck at Runa Huasi, a guide and a director of RICANCIE quickly recount a laundry list of the complaints they have heard about the dangers of bringing foreign tourists into communities and selling Quichua culture to them. The elders were worried about the evils of too much money. The women had initially resisted cooking with onions and garlic for the tourists. The men were concerned about being looked at as another kind of animal in the jungle. Visiting bishops had voiced concerns that sex and intermarriage with tourists would destroy Quichua culture. Foreign development workers had pointed out that the guides and directors themselves were the most vulnerable to "acculturation."

The history of RICANCIE has proven all of these concerns to be valid, some more than others. Surprisingly, one of the most significant issues for RICANCIE administrators has consistently been the question of sexual relations between guides and tourists. While anthropologists and development workers worry that contact with the con-

sumer goods of the global market might contribute to materialist behaviors, the real cultural action has been much more physical than psychological. In response to the problem, RICANCIE instituted rules against sexual interaction and against intermarriage in RICANCIE communities. The rules, according to administrators, have largely taken care of the problem. Development workers continue to worry about the acculturation of the RICANCIE guides, but most other concerns faded as the operation overcame its initial growing pains or as problematic communities dropped out of the network.

"fiesta" during the last night of their tour. The result is that both the young and the old Quichua have a newfound admiration for their culture.

Tarquino Tapuy, the former FOIN director who masterminded the creation of RICANCIE, explains that there is a big difference between tourism run by outsiders and cultural ecotourism run by the indigenous communities themselves. Before, *Mestizo* guides would come and say "Hey, Indian, open the door and I'll pay you," thereby "folklorizing" or objectifying Quichua culture. "Now the people have legitimate inter-

There is a big difference between tourism run by outsiders and indigenous-run cultural ecotourism.

For the ten communities that have continued to participate in RICANCIE, the overall results have been decidedly positive. As the directors of RICANCIE explain, the project has led to a sort of "cultural renaissance." Instead of looking at Western culture through the lens of advertising in Tena, which values all things Western over all things Indian, local inhabitants meet actual Westerners. To the surprise of the Quichua whom they meet, the Westerners who come to RICANCIE would much rather ponder traditional Quichua architecture and enjoy traditional Quichua music than see corrugated metal roofs and hear Rock 'n Roll. During a stay at Runa Huasi, foreign tourists often ask to work with the local inhabitants on a "minga" or community workday, to sample traditional foods at the meal that follows, and to listen to traditional music at a

cultural experiences because we are the ones who decide to show them our houses and our community, not some outsider who is trying to use us to make money," Tarquino says.

Perhaps most significantly, though, the project reinforces the importance of rainforest preservation because tourists want to see a healthy rainforest ecosystem. If one community member wants to cut down some trees to sell to a logging company, someone always reminds him that tourists like to see trees. The result, according to an Austrian development worker who is using satellite images to analyze deforestation, is that compared to neighboring communities, RICANCIE communities have lost a lot less of their primary and secondary forests.

The act of preserving the environment in which Quichua cultural knowledge is relevant is probably the single most important factor in the continued existence of Quichua culture. "While the Bishops might think that the Quichua people would survive without the forest, and that we should work with the oil companies instead of ecotourism, they are thinking only about sex and bloodlines when they talk about culture," Tarquino laughs. "Without the forest, there would be no Quichua culture."

RUNNING A SUCCESSFUL COMMUNITY ECOTOURISM BUSINESS

RICANCIE has its own internal assembly, made up of representatives from the participating communities. Although RICANCIE will often pay for the provincial indigenous federation FOIN activities, FOIN leaders do not control the tourism funds.



RICANCIE tourists with guides

Both the competitive nature of the tourism business and the consistent lack of funding for FOIN require the strict autonomy of the project.

The most sweeping cultural changes that RICANCIE has initiated are those required by the challenge of creating a competitive business. While leaders can get away with the margins of the global economy. Here the struggle between the traditional and the modern, the local and the global, is a complex mosaic of individual and community choices set against a backdrop of the ever-advancing processes of economic globalization, the consolidation of markets, and the never-ending search for increasing returns to specula-

The risks of inserting local economies into the global system are significant.

a fluid time-space framework in their approach to meetings with solidarity organizations or with government officials, the tourism market demands punctuality and organization. Instead of the typical "find it, use it" economics of the rainforest, RICANCIE directors and the communities they represent have had to learn to re-invest the bulk of the profits from the project. In "entering the capitalist world," as Tarquino describes it, the directors and communities have come to understand capital and competitiveness.

INDIGENOUS CULTURAL CAPITAL AND THE GLOBAL CAPITALIST SYSTEM

As an indigenous tourism entrepreneur from the Andes remarked to me, "Globalization is coming whether indigenous people like it or not. The only question is whether we will let it erase us, or whether we will take advantage of it." The "capitalist" tourism projects that are sprouting up all over Ecuador are very clear examples of indigenous communities' attempts to survive—economically and culturally—amidst the process of globalization.

Capital and competitiveness, the very issues that make RICANCIE a difficult undertaking for Quichua communities, are at the heart of the global trade agreements that are advancing the process of globalization. By valorizing capital and competitiveness over local and national regulations that protect workers and the environment, global trade agreements practice a type of market fundamentalism. They argue that by extending the market to encompass the margins—both geographical (i.e. Ecuador) and industry sector (i.e. Education and Cultural Exchange)—the outcome will be the most efficient for the system as a whole.

Between Río Arajuno and Río Napo, Runa Huasi is one of the many spaces located at tive capital. The land of Runa Huasi is covered by global enterprises, oil companies, gold-mining companies, palm oil companies, and logging companies alike. Global food markets, advertisers, and Wall Street investment bankers compete for the minds and spare pennies of the people of Runa Huasi.

By entering this system and taking advantage of it, lowland Quichua Indians are able to valorize and strengthen their culture while protecting their land from invasion. Paradoxically, and at significant risk, they are trying to take advantage of global markets to preserve a local world and culture where the market cannot be king.

THE RISKS OF GLOBALIZING LOCAL ECONOMIES

The risks of inserting local economies such as Runa Huasi's into the global system are significant. In the ecotourism market, Runa Huasi and the RICANCIE communities have become much more vulnerable to the fluctuations of the global economy. They are also forced to compete with operations that have significantly more capital, and therefore higher productivity.

Without a doubt, RICANCIE is tying the success of the economy in its Upper Napo communities to the economic health of countries halfway around the world. According to Marco Licuy, Director of Community Development and Ecological Management for RICANCIE, since the September 11th attack, the number of tourists has significantly decreased. "Now terrorism, the war, Plan Colombia, everything affects us. What goes on in other countries directly affects this work." The result is that RICANCIE has a staggeringly low 3% occupation rate, and the operation lacks both capital and profit. While 75% of the profits usually goes to the communities, there are currently no dividends to be distributed.

Without the capital to market effectively, RICANCIE is at a severe disadvantage to local competitors who wield large amounts of capital. On the way to Runa Huasi, visitors motor past the luxurious and heavily capitalized Casa de Suizo or "house of the Swiss," which sits on a bluff overlooking the Río Napo. The Casa de Suizo, like several other operations in the area, makes marketing trips to foreign countries, sets up joint marketing deals with travel agencies both in Quito and abroad, and brings tourists in directly. The confidence of RICANCIE community members in the potential success of their project and in the valorization of their culture is undermined by the very apparent success of these large operations.

As long as Ecuadorian laws exist to protect communal property and local capital, RICANCIE can coexist with heavily capitalized foreigners, ensuring the survival of their land and culture. However, as attempts to liberalize the trade in services in the hemisphere and the world bring tourism services under their jurisdiction, there will be a constant pressure towards larger capital, higher productivity, more Casas del Suizo, and fewer Runa Huasis.

Although greater foreign ecotourism investment might benefit the rainforest environment, the lack of participatory indigenous management of these operations would suggest a sort of proletarianization of the Quichua population in centers like Runa Huasi. Without control over the process, the people and their culture would revert to being objectified and "folklorized" by the ever-consolidating tourism industry. It is in this potential situation, and not the community-run participatory effort, where selling culture would become selling out.

David Edeli, Social Studies '99, is currently a Fulbright scholar in Ecuador studying the effects of global trade policy on Amazonian indigenous economies. He would like to thank his former thesis advisor, Ted MacDonald, and the DRCLAS summer grant program for sending him to Ecuador to do his Harvard undergraduate thesis research in 1998. Edeli welcomes any comments or questions about global trade in Latin America. He can be reached at <edeli@post.harvard.edu.\par>. RICANCIE may be contacted at <ri>ricancie@ecuanex.net.ec>; website: <http://RICANCIE.nativeweb.org>.









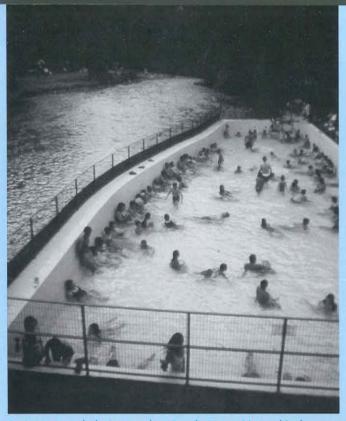
Ecotourism in Chile

A scientific view

BY BEATRIZ PALMA, ANGEL LAZO ALVAREZ, PHILIP RUNDEL, AND N. MICHELE HOLBROOK

ROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF A SCIentist, the worldwide surge in ecotourism is a mixed blessing. On the one hand, who can deny that interest and exposure to nature ecosystems provides an important opportunity for educating the importance of conservation of biotic and natural resources. Yet because many of us rely on these same environments for our scientific work, it is natural to feel in competition with the ecotourists. A hundred thousand well meaning but uninformed boots tramping through a delicate habitat can render it useless for most scientific purposes as well as destroy its value for conservation. With protected areas growing ever fewer, we fear the environmental costs associated with the infrastructure required to support ecotourism. To make this increased access "worthwhile," it is essential that the educational benefits of increased visitation outweigh the associated environmental costs. Thus, we worry most of all that ecotourism will become synonymous with recreation, with rafting and bungee-jumping supplanting any real exposure to the ecology of these natural areas.

The majority of my time in Chile has been spent in the Atacama Desert, at Parque Nacional Pan de Azúcar. There, as part of a research collaboration that stretches back over two decades and involves scientists from both the U.S. and Chile, I contribute to studies on the physiological and structural adaptations that allow plants to live in this driest place on earth that still supports plant life. Led by the efforts of Harvard graduate student Matthew Thompson and Beatriz Palma, a professor at Chile's Universidad de las Americas, we are trying to understand the water economy of *Nolana mollis*, an extremely unusual desert shrub. Rain is rare at this site, typically occurring as part of the "El Niño" shift in sea surface temperatures and thus rainfall patterns. Thus, the peri-





Previous page, clockwise: coastline, Pan de Azúcar National Park; guanaco—a relative of the llama and camel; Nothofagus forests in Puyehue National Forest; Harvard undergraduate Supinda Bunyavanich, working on a research project at Pan de Azúcar National Park; above: bathing in the National Park; Puyehue National Forest; opposite page: researchers from Universidad Austral; stream, Puyehue National Forest

od between rainfall events is on the order of several (up to 10) years and is extremely unpredictable. Most of the plants at this site are either cacti (which can survive long droughts due to their ability to store water in their thick stems) or restricted to the fog belt that forms at elevations along the coast at about 500 m. Nolana is unusual because it grows side-by-side with the hardiest of cacti and yet has no apparent water storage reservoir and maintains green leaves and delicate flowers despite the fact that it may not have rained for years! Its secret lies in its ability to reduce its need for water by a clever use of salt. By secreting salt mined from the soil onto its leaf surfaces, Nolana is able to condense water from the atmosphere and thus keep its leaves in a humid boundary layer, reducing its need to extract water from the very dry soil.

Our study of this unique plant has been possible because of the logistic and technical support provided by CONAF (Corporación Nacional de Forestales) and the fact that this park receives few visitors. Because the time between rainfalls can be several years, understanding this ecosystem requires long-term monitoring. We have been able to run sophisticated, long-term experiments in this park without fear of our equipment being "modified" by a curious ecotourist, as well as to return year after year to monitor various populations without having to fac-

tor in the possibility of human disturbance. Pan de Azúcar is a breathtakingly beautiful park. The mountains along the northern coast of Chile create dramatic landscapes, offshore islands support breeding populations of penguins, and the plant life is extraordinary. However, from my point of view one of the best things about this site is that we have it nearly all to ourselves.

Therein lies the dilemma facing scientists working in undisturbed, pristine habitats. If more knowledge about this delicate yet tough desert ecosystem were readily available, it is likely that visitation might substantially

of coming upon a herd of grazing guanaco will give way to the thrills of "outdoor adventure" rather than ecological tourism. Yet the answer to both of these concerns is to increase the quality and quantity of ecological information available to tourists, as well as to use scientific knowledge to develop resource management plans to minimize the damage of increased visitation.

During the 1990's, the number of visitors to Chile's 31 National Parks and 15 national monuments increased by 32%, topping a million visitors in 2000. The need to promote expanded capacity for ecotourism in

Scientists working in undisturbed, pristine habitats face a dilemma: more knowledge encourages visitation and possible damage to ecosystems.

increase. Do we keep our understanding of these ecosystems locked away in academic journals (as safe a place as anyone could imagine!) or do we try to use our knowledge to encourage visitors knowing that once started we might not be able to control the onslaught. My fears of *Nolana* being "loved" to death are probably a bit extreme, but the fact that increased human visitation will leave a mark on the environment cannot be denied. Nor can I shake off my concern that quiet walks among the cacti in the hopes

Chile led in 1996 to the establishment of a National System of Protected Wildland Areas or SNAPSE (Systema Nacional de Áreas Silvestres Protegidas del Estado Chileno). The system seeks to improve tourist access to national parks and reserves by promoting partnerships for the development of hotels and other recreation facilities while maintaining the natural values that visitors seek. While core funding for SNAPSE comes from the Chilean government, the development of new infrastructure to promote tourism in

national parks and reserves must come from partnerships with private interests. The enabling legislation creating SNAPSE established specific guidelines for private development projects in protected areas. These guidelines state that projects must be carried out in harmony with existing park management plans, provide new or improved services to attract a broader segment of tourists, allow for the economic participation of surrounding rural populations, and preserve the environmental quality of the protected area. Private development projects meeting these projects are eligible for 20-35-year leases within national parks and reserves.

Can such partnerships with private interests include a mechanism to harness the input of scientists to both promote and guard against ecotourism? The new Pumalin Park in southern Chile represents a unique example of a private-public partnership to promote conservation and environmental education. The establishment of this park, conceived and financed by Douglas Tompkins of the United States, protects nearly 1200 square miles of highly threatened habitat of lush austral forest. Persevering over numerous political hurdles, Pumalin has demonstrated the contributions that private individuals can make to preserving ecological diversity and opening private areas to public access.

A few years ago I had the opportunity to visit Chile as an "ecotourist." With no sci-

entific agenda, my goal was purely to make my acquaintance of the Southern conifers - living relatives of the plants that dominated the earth during the age of the dinosaurs. I was drawn to Chile because it is the only place in South America where one can find representatives of all three families of the southern conifers. In addition, it allowed me the opportunity of some botanical time-travel. The forests of southern Chile consist of species assemblages that predate the breakup of the Gondwanan continent. Thus, to walk beneath a mixed canopy of Auracaria mixed with Nothofagus and Drimys is to imagine an ancient land, when the flowering plants were beginning their rise and the conifers still held sway across the earth.

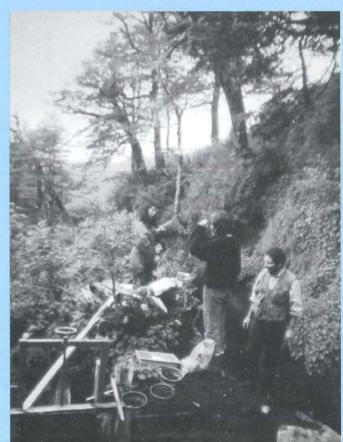
The excellent national park system of Chile meant that my tree-watching expedition was an easy success. I found towering stands of Fitzroyea, a species in which individuals can live for almost 4,000 years. I walked through glades of Saxegothea, puzzling over the way their hollow trunks become filled with roots growing from the inside of the stem. And I found the most charismatic of conifers, Auracaria aurucana, on the slopes of Volcán Llaima. We know from fossils that this genus was once extremely widespread, leaving behind petrified woods in Arizona and amber deposits in regions around the globe. Today Auracaria occurs only in Chile, one small region in Brazil, a

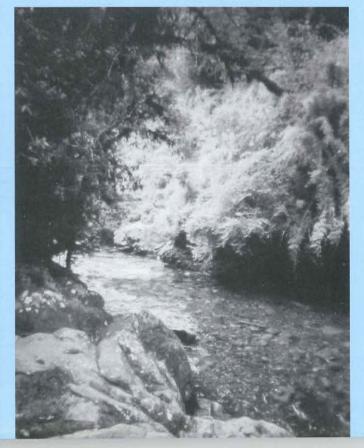
few places in Australia, and New Caledonia.

However, I learned much more than about these trees. Although I thoroughly enjoyed my sojourn as an ecotourist, I was struck by the limited information on the natural history of these regions available to the average visitor. Chile - with its wide range of natural habitats and floristic diversity offers a fabulous opportunity to combine recreation with environmental education. Yet there were no natural history guides or other literature to aid in interpreting and appreciating these ecosystems and even I, a professional botanist, felt their absence. This experience and others has led me and my colleagues to consider seriously what our role should be in addressing this deficiency in a manner that best supports the conservation and education goals that should be at the heart of ecotourism.

Beatriz Palma is a professor at Universidad de las Americas in Chile. She was a Luksic Visiting Scholar at DRCLAS.

N. Michele Holbrook is a Professor of Organismic and Evolutionary Biology at Harvard University, as well as a member of the DRCLAS executive committee. Angel Lazo Alvarez works for the Corporacion Nacional Forestal (CONAF) in Santiago, Chile. Philip Rundel is a professor of biology at the University of California, Los Angeles.





Agricultural Tourism

Economic Diversification

BY JORGE RAMÍREZ VALLEJO

olombia's coffee zone with its rolling green mountains has long been associated with steaming hot cups of coffee and ruana-clad peasant farmers in the classic style of Juan Valdez. An area of some 25 towns in the states of Quindío, Risaralda and Caldas with a population of almost three million, coffee country is mainly populated by adventurous settlers who came at the end of the 19th century, looking for new land and a better way of life.

What's relatively new in the coffee zone are tourists, a new kind of agricultural tourism that's mostly domestic, but sets the stage for international tourism in better times. The region has mostly managed to avoid the political violence plaguing most of Colombia, but low coffee prices and the country's tumultuous financial crisis have caused inventive coffee producers to look for other sources of income—and, for the most part, to avoid the temptation of illicit activities.

Despite the media focus on the drug/violence axis, and the impression it gives of countrywide chaos, about 90 percent of violent conflict-related incidents occur in remote areas against local inhabitants, far from this coffee-growing central region of Colombia.

Colombia has developed the most comprehensive production, export, and marketing system of any coffee producing country. The system, directed by the private non-profit institution National Federation of Coffee Growers (Fedecafe), acts both as an exporter and as an agent between coffee growers and other independent exporters. It also oversees a wide range of other functions related to the coffee sector, including operating a minimum price for growers, agronomic and technical research and extension, monitoring quality standards, and processing coffee. For the last 70 years, Fedecafe has been providing services for the families of coffee producers and investing in physical and social infrastructure to generate regional development. The building of rural highways, water systems, schools, electricity, and health care centers has contributed to the relative prosperity of the region, and

also provided an infrastructure amenable to attracting tourists. Investments in industries other than coffee have also been part of the long-term strategy of Fedecafe to generate regional development.

However, in the last decade, market conditions for coffee have changed radically. Favorable regulatory stipulations in the International Coffee Agreement ended, and the coffee sector became subject to the vac-

the rest fail mainly for two reasons: markets for new products do not exist or are weakly consolidated, and second, technology base is not complete or too sophisticated to be used by uneducated farmers. Among the successful stories of diversification is that of agro-tourism in the coffee zone.

A relatively high literacy rate, coupled with the tranquility of the zone, contribute to a stable workforce that can be trained for

What's relatively new in the coffee zone is a new kind of agricultural tourism, mostly domestic.

illations of the international coffee market. In turn, international prices plunged with the entry of new coffee producers into the market and the slow growth in the level of international consumption.

More than ever, diversification became a theme for coffee growers. That's how they decided that coffee plantations could serve to not only export "the richest coffee in the world," but also to import tourists and to generate complementary income through a new dimension in the region's economy, agro-tourism or rural tourism.

The coffee-growing region had already acquired a certain romantic caché through the popular soap opera Café a story about love and power set on a coffee plantation. In addition, the climate is neither hot nor cold, and the plantations can be reached by roads that are generally safe, an important factor in choosing vacation destinations in Colombia. And, ironically, as the economy declined, middle-class vacationers were increasingly thinking about domestic vacations to substitute for weekends in Miami.

Attempts to diversify family income in the coffee region are difficult. Unfortunately history has shown that there are few real alternatives to diversification for coffee farmers in today's world. Only some few farmers that try to diversify their income through on-farm diversification projects are successful. In fact, it is estimated that only one out of 30 diversification intents are successful;

service industries such as agro-tourism. Social-economic indicators, ranging from the low level of violence and political instability to figures on health and education, show that the coffee-growing states are better off than the national average. For example, the Unsatisfied Basic Needs (UBN), a proxy for poverty, is at the 20% level in the coffee region, while for the rest of the rural Colombia is 65%; the number of murders per 10,000 habitants is 5.8 compared with 10.3 with the rest of the rural sector; and, illiteracy is 6 percent points below the rate for the rest of the rural sector.

Rural tourism is not a new idea in countries that have tried to generate dynamism in their rural areas. Clear examples of these attempts appear in some regions in Spain where government has successfully stopped migration from rural to urban areas. In fact, the development of tourism was able to reverse the migration flow, and now, many former urban settlers are finding the rural area as an interesting opportunity to improve their quality of live. A similar story can be told in Argentina with the Turismo de Estancias with the RATUR program; the LEADER program that has fomented this activity across Europe; and, the already consolidated industry in the Czech Republic. However, in these countries the origin of this rural tourism industry came Opposite page, top: a coffee plantation house;

Opposite page, top: a coffee plantation house bottom: inviting agrotourism





from a well-defined public strategy, while the case of the coffee region appears to be endogenous as a logical extension of using the natural resources, and without looking at models in other countries. It was only after tourism became important, that institutional attention was directed to support this initiative.

The coffee-growers understood that Colombians have a social inclination towards nature and rural roots as part of the national patrimony, and that's an important element in this new style of vacation. That's how rural tourism curiously appears as a force that's contradictory to the "natural" force produced in countries in the process of development, in which agriculture is increasingly separated spatially and socially from the development process.

Hundreds of small coffee plantations have been adapted to bring in tourists and to attract nature enthusiasts with total relaxation. Thousands of visitors come to the region each week. In most cases, the coffee plantations are hosted by their owners, experts in making people feel welcome and in cooking up a storm with the typical food of the region, beans, savory pork rinds, small corn pancakes called "arepas" and a special corn-based drink that's almost a soup called "mazamorra." The charm of the large plantation houses is in the smell of coffee and bananas wafting in from the mountains and permeating the very wood of the houses, in the silence of the clouds, interrupted only by the singing of birds; and the leisurely pace of sharing coffee and food with loved ones. Children in particular are attracted by the great variety of animals and pets around the farmhouse.

A family can spend the night for only U.S. \$30. But there are bigger farmhouses that can accommodate up to twenty guests, for about U.S. \$150 daily. Fedecafe implemented a strategy to advertise these houses with catalogs and generated incentives to travel agencies to show the coffee region as a tourist option for potential travelers. Fedecafe also put in practice a training program for members of the coffee families to make them real entrepreneurs of tourism, and most importantly, educating them to provide a quality service to the tourist. The region became very attractive not only to families that spend from a weekend to a complete two-three week vacation, but also to large public and private conventions and

corporate meetings. They highly value what the region has to offer in terms of natural resources and recreational facilities.

In addition to promoting rural tourism through rural stays, theme parks have sprung up in the coffee-growing area to entice families and other tourists. The first and most important of these theme parks is in Montenegro, the so-called Coffee Park or *Parque del Café*,—a combined museum, amusement park, and ecological trail, that provide the

region in 1999. Just as the tourist region in the Caribbean has discovered that its tourism ebbs and flows with natural disasters such as hurricanes and floods, the Colombian coffee region learned that tourism can be as unstable as coffee prices.

More than a thousand people died, 4,000 injuries and another 25,000 residents in the rural area were displaced as a result of the earthquake. While it did not cause direct damage to coffee trees and other agricultural

Colombians have a social inclination towards nature and rural roots as part of the national patrimony.

tourist with a magical re-encounter with the coffee culture. The park is history, with its life-scale replica of a coffee town; it is nature, with its jungle walk with thousands of types of flora and fauna; it's a botanical fantasy with its Orchid Show, in which orquids of every type dance and sing in Disney fashion to entertain and convey ecological messages. It's a food-lover's paradise with countless stands selling cotton candy, ices, and arepas. The park, which also features a skyride and an observation bridge from which one can overlook the entire state, was built by Fedecafe, as a way of educating the tourist about the history and culture of coffee through the Coffee Museum. Another focus is that of biodiversity, which offers the tourist a landscape of orchids and ferns.

The second park, the National Farmlands Park, *Panaca*, opened in 1999 as a theme park that promotes interaction between city folks and the countryside to promote understanding of the role of agriculture in the national economy. Kids get to feed the pigs, give bottles to little goats, and try to outwit the trained dogs, who are experts at arithmetic.

The coffee region also offers other tourist attractions such as the Guadua Park, which focuses on the region's architecture, and the Pereira Zoo, the largest in the country. Natural attractions such as lakes and snowclad mountains also attract tourists.

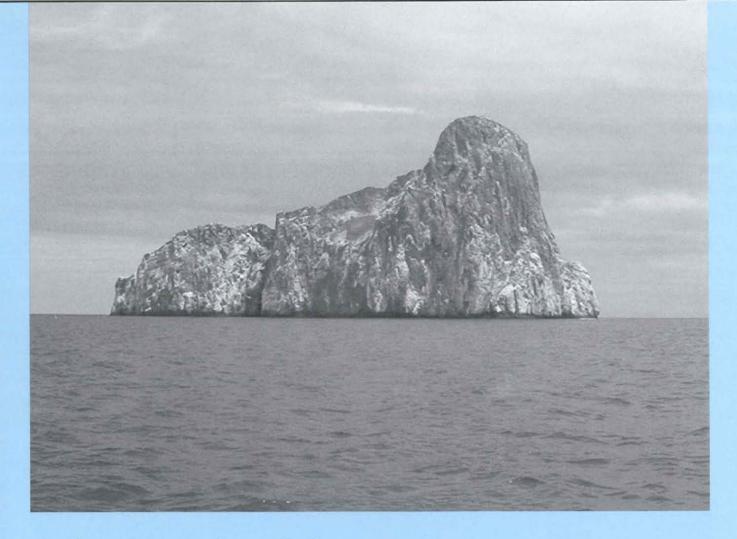
Despite the country's negative, violencetorn image, more and more tourists were traveling to this region. It is estimated that around 2,000 people visited the region every weekend. But just when the region was consolidating its infrastructure to provide an economic alternative to the hardhit coffee economy, an earthquake struck the coffee products, the damage to processing and storage structures, workers' homes, as well as community infrastructure, was substantial. Roads, aqueducts, and agro-hotel facilities were severely damaged, and the theme parks had to shut down. However, the region's tenacious residents and the National Federation of Coffee Growers immediately began the reconstruction process, and the tourist infrastructure was rehabilitated within a year, and the theme parks opened only three months after the tragedy.

Three years after the catastrophic event, agrotourism appears to be the salvation for many coffee growers who are experimenting the worst crisis in history, a crisis that sadly does not seem to have an end soon. During the last vacation season, more than 100,000 tourists visited the coffee-growing region, according to the regional Chamber of Commerce, and more and more farmhouses are being adapted to welcome new tourists from other parts of Colombia and the world.

However, there are still problems the tourist sector faces that have to be solved in order to consolidate the region to its fullest potential. First, and most important, it's the progress toward peace, which, in turn, depends upon the social and economic stability of the country. In this spiral effect, creative initiatives such as agrotourism appear as the breaking point to have a stable social environment in the country.

Jorge Ramírez Vallejo is the Santo
Domingo Visiting Scholar at the David
Rockefeller Center for Latin American
Studies and the former director of the
Adjustment Program of the Coffee Sector
in Colombia (FEDECAFE).





A Look at the Galapagos

Conservation and Conflict

BY MATT GARLICK

HEN MY PARENTS LEARNED THAT San Cristobal, Galapagos was the site placement for my WorldTeach volunteership, they breathed a sigh of relief. Amidst political turmoil on mainland Ecuador, including a coup on the presidential palace just three months prior to my departure, and a severe economic crisis, the Galapagos Islands seemed far away from the violence and political instability of mainland Ecuador. Neither of us knew, however, that the Galapagos, often heralded as a paradigm of the delicate balance between conservation, tourism, and local interests, were also grappling with a different set of social dynamics that threatened the extraordinary ecosystems of these remote isles, and the lives of the people that inhabit them.

In fact, in my one year in the sleepy village of Puerto Baquerizo Moreno, I experienced a potentially devastating oil spill, a hostile takeover of the Galapagos National Park (GNP), the Charles Darwin Research Station (CDRS) offices and my ESL classes by local fishermen, massive depletion of marine resources, particularly sea cucumber and lobster, and the assault of a Park ranger. Shortly after I left, 15 sea lions were mutilated for the sale of their teeth and sexual organs. So dramatic have been the threats to conservation that some scientists have begun to suggest that if the Galapagos—the paradigm of successful ecotourism—can't be protected, then nowhere in the world can.

In 1934, after centuries of species devastation from buccaneers, whalers, and fur sealers, the government of Ecuador designated some Galapagos Islands as a wildlife sanctuary. In 1959, Ecuador declared 97% of the islands as National Park land, and in 1986 the Galapagos Marine Reserve was officially established, although mostly on paper.

Located 600 miles off the Ecuadorian coast, the Galapagos Islands are often called the birthplace of modern day ecotourism, which, alongside fishing, has for many years been the principle means of income for the few thousand inhabitants of Santa Cruz, San Cristobal, Isabela, Baltra, and Floreana islands, or the 'inhabited' islands of the archipelago. First attracting visitors in natural history in 1967, the pioneers of Galapagos ecotourism had well-organized visitation by 1985, using locally owned, low-impact, liveaboard boats that conducted tours ranging from three days to two weeks for small groups. The GNP designated more than 60 visitor sites on the islands, each with clearly marked trails, and certified naturalist guides were required to accompany visitors during site visits at all times, a practice that continues today.

Since the 1980s, however, immigration

of mainlanders seeking economic opportunities in ecotourism and fishing has averaged 5% per year, boosting total population from roughly 4,000 in 1980 to over 15,000 today. Tourism has also boomed as the number of visitors to the Galapagos National Parks has increased from roughly 10,000 in 1979 to more than 60,000 today amounting to \$60 million annually. The impacts of these resident and visitor explosions are numerous. Increases in the incidence and numbers of introduced species, dramatic increases in the extraction of marine resources, legally and otherwise, a housing and construction boom, increased marine pollution, and overcrowded schools just to name a few. Further, as revenues from fishing and tourism soared, so have conflicts between the fishing and conservation sectors, made up of tour operators, international conservation organizations, primarily the CDRS and the GNP.

For many San Cristobal residents, conservation is in some ways a dirty word. Some residents see the GNP, with its deep pockets and strict rules, as concerned with the protection of every species except humans, and view their mandate as a threat to the local means of living. But the attitudes of residents, both new and old, stem from policies adopted several decades earlier. Paola Oviedo, a consultant who has studied the conflict resolution process in Galapagos, observes, "The conflict in the Galapagos is the result of the (traditional) approach to protected areas...From the beginning, residents felt shut out of the process that had imposed conservation measures." (Reports Magazine, October 6, 2001) The CDRS,



Previous page: Rock Island; above left: Galapagos tourists; above right: town visitors

gration, and other regulations for tourism and other areas. It also created the Participatory Management Board, a mechanism for representatives of fishing, tourism, and conservation to collaborate on planning and managing the activities in the Reserve, as well as the Interinstitutional Management Authority (IMA), headed by the Minister of the Environment, and encompassing both government departments and primary stakeholder groups as the Reserve's highest decision-making body (www.darwinfoundation.org). At the local level, it created an incentive for previously ignored parties to participate in the process, helped build consensus, increased transparency, and reduced

ed by local politicians, the fishing community again went on strike, destroying the home of the GNP on Isabela Island, disrupting tourist activity, and preventing employees of the GNP, CDRS, and strangely enough WorldTeach, from working for several days. Armed guards were flown from the mainland to ease the situation. After failed negotiations, including the fishing sector's rejection of an offer by the CDRS and others to increase the original quota, the lobster season reopened for a short time.

The implications of social upheaval as a successful negotiation tactic are worrisome. More troubling is the impotence of the GNP to enforce the Special Law, partly due to the failure to create follow-on legislation. Fortunately, so far into the 2001 campaign, the lobster populations seem to be healthy and the numbers of registered fishermen and boats well managed. Conversely, the 2000 sea cucumber harvest, another politically charged fishery, attracted schoolteachers, students, and public officials taking paid vacation to get in on the gold rush. The outcome was an oversupply of fishermen and numerous tragic accidental deaths of untrained divers. By the close of the 2001 sea cucumber season, however, the fisherman collected less than three quarters of the four million quota, suggesting that years of overfishing have already begun to take its toll on local supply.

Ecotourism and conservation also face pressures from mainland Ecuador and Cen-

The impacts of these resident and visitor explosions are numerous, from pollution to overcrowded schools.

too, was highly centralized, focusing its efforts on scientific research, perhaps helping sow the seeds for future conflict.

In 1997, after a hostile takeover of the GNP and CDRS offices by local fishermen, a process of conflict resolution resulted in the 1998 Special Law for Galapagos The Law officially recognized the 40 nautical miles surrounding the archipelago as a protected area, restricted fisheries in the Reserve to artisan fishing by registered members of the islands' four cooperatives, established a structure and strict rules to control immi-

conflict, at least temporarily.

Unfortunately, however, conflict returned over lobster fisheries just two years later. In 1999, after 500 local fishermen harvested 54 tons of lobster in four months, the IMA established a quota of 50 tons in a maximum allowable time of four months for the 2000 lobster campaign Barely two months into the 2000 campaign, however, 54 tons of lobster were captured as the number of fisherman nearly doubled despite a five-year ban on new membership of the fishing cooperatives created by the Special Law. Support-



tral America, mainly from fishermen interested in shark, tuna, and sea lions for export. Thanks in part to the donation of a high-speed boat from the Sea Shepherd conservation organization, five boats were captured fishing without authorization within the 40 nautical miles surrounding the islands in July 2001. Upon inspection, GNP authorities discovered thousands of shark fins believed to be part of an export trade to Asia. Although the modern vessel has helped monitor the 51,000-square-mile Reserve, alleged corruption from Ecuadorian Navy officials, charged with sanctioning perpetrators of the Reserve, has limited its success.

Media attention on the 'violent and uncompromising' fishermen, however, has overlooked the greatest threat to the longterm, ecological health of the Islands, introduced species. With 60,000 tourists visiting the Islands annually, the arrival and dispersion of introduced species are the greatest environmental threat currently facing Galapagos, and are directly related to ecotourism. A quarantine system (SICGAL) set up under the Special Law manually checks all handbags at the airport, and incoming freight from the mainland, but the presence of goats, frogs, rats, blackberries, dogs, feral cats, ants, flies, and pigs continues to threaten the high degree of endemic species exclusive to the Galapagos.

An estimated 75,000-125,000 goats inhabit Isabela, the largest island in the Galapagos.

Isabela is also home to the highest concentration of endemic species in the archipelago, including roughly 50% of the giant tortoise population. (www.darwinfoundation.org). Causing land erosion and a tremendous consumption of vegetation that the tortoises and other species depend upon for survival, the GNP has strategically hunted the goats on Isabela and other islands for years. This year, the GNP, in coordination with the United Nations, USAID, and others, has begun a multi-million dollar eradication campaign featuring trained professional hunters, and methods used successfully in eradication projects in New Zealand. While Project Isabela and others like it are essential for the conservation of these unique islands, their goals are extremely difficult to achieve.

Nonetheless, the conservation strategies of the GNP and CDRS, and the activities of the tourist sector have broadened to include the interests of the human species to a greater extent. Operations of the GNP and CDRS are more decentralized, and measures have been put in place to enable a more equitable, balanced, and sustainable future for the islands. Examples include legislation requiring all naturalist guides to hold a permanent resident card, programs offering fishermen alternative income sources that also benefit the environment, tours of the islands available to local teachers in exchange for participation in environmental education workshops, college scholarships for local students, and many others. Unfortunately, years of perceived secondary treatment, mismanagement of immigration controls, and disasters, including the January oil spill caused by the grounding of an oil tanker carrying fuel to tourist vessels, have made the task of local public approval very difficult. In addition, years of negligible social investment in schools, hospitals, and other social resources have ill prepared residents for the challenges of simultaneously providing world class tourism and managing one of the largest and most delicate ecosystems in the world.

Once considered the model for ecotourism and sustainable development of protected areas, the Galapagos are now gaining a reputation for social conflict and narrowly averting natural disasters. A surge in visitor and resident levels has altered the social, political, and economic dynamics of the Islands, subsequently threatening to permanently modify the ecological balance that draws visitors and scientists from around the world. Democratic solutions have so far been hard to come by, but real progress has undoubtedly been achieved. Social development, however, still lags greatly behind mainland Ecuador, and poses a challenge for future generations seeking to balance conservation with social and economic growth. Clearly, though, the example of Galapagos offers important lessons. Coordination between different sectors, locally, nationally, and internationally, often opposing and from private, public, and other spheres, is critical. This is particularly true for Ecuador and other developing countries historically characterized by low levels of political participation, instability, personalismo, and regionalism. Finally, successful conservation is as much, if not more, about working with people than it is about protecting animals.

Matt Garlick is a former World Teach Ecuador volunteer, a non-profit organization affiliated with Harvard that provides opportunities for college students and graduates to work and teach in Costa Rica, Ecuador, Namibia, and China. While in Ecuador, he co-founded the New Era Galapagos Foundation (www.neweragalapagos.org), a non-profit initiative dedicated to providing educational opportunities and local environmental action on the island of San Cristobal. He currently lives in San Francisco and can be reached at <mgarlick76@yahoo.com>.

Restoring a Ravaged Venezuelan Coastline

The Place of Tourism in a Strategy for Recovery

BY KEN GREENBERG



RAMATIC FLOODS RAVAGED THE CARACAS seaside known as the Littoral in December 1999, ripping up houses and literally re-shaping the coastline and beaches. Less than a year later, I joined several Venezuelan colleagues in leading a joint urban design studio in the Graduate School of Design at Harvard University (GSD) and in the Urban Design Masters Program at the Universidad Metropolitana (Unimet) in Caracas, Venezuela.

The Venezuelan Ministry of Science and Technology had asked the Unimet Program to prepare redevelopment proposals and provide tools to implement the recovery program. Tourism was an integral part of that recovery strategy. Indeed, the disaster and the subsequent joint design studio project shaped radical new ways of thinking about the nature of tourism in the Littoral community.

The coastline had long been the scene of Caracas residents' beach exodus to sun and relax. But almost no one looked twice at the original but previously neglected 16th century Spanish colonial town, La Guaira, including three existing forts. Thinking about recovery meant thinking about tourism, and even the possibility of international tourism.

The Unimet study gathered together a broad multidisciplinary team to produce a Conceptual Vision for the recovery. Working alongside Unimet Professors David Gouverneur and Alfredo Landaeta, as well as students from the Unimet Urban Design Masters Program, GSD students and faculty were able to combine their resources and talents to further advance the initial proposals.

We found ourselves confronted with an extremely urgent situation. New environ-

mental and physical designs were challenging enough, but real-world implementation issues made our tasks daunting. Global climatic changes are increasing the likelihood section examined by the joint studio, a rough estimate suggested that some 20,000 people (4,000 households) were in need of relocation out of the floodplain.

The disaster and subsequent joint design studio project shaped radical new ways of thinking about the nature of tourism in the Littoral community.

of similar events occurring in the near future, especially in areas where urban growth has taken place with limited planning and development controls, underscoring the critical importance of this academic joint venture.

The studios focused on the portion of the coastline extending from Macuto to the west including the Port of La Guaira and Simón Bolívar International Airport, both in need of re-engineering. Sprawling barrios on surrounding hillsides, bordering the historic districts ring these facilities. This is an area of great potential and great need. It houses the majority of the resident population of the Littoral (many in environmentally unstable areas), provides significant employment, and contains large expanses of underutilized land.

Although historically there has been very little international tourism in this area, the regular weekend beach exodus from Caracas has created an intensely symbiotic tourist relationship with the capital. Caracas weekenders gather frequently, particularly on portions of the Littoral further to the east. The mudslides of December 1999 dramatically changed this landscape, removing built-up areas with enormous loss of life and property, and radically calling into question previous patterns of use and occupation. In the

The fact that so much had to be re-built sharpened perceptions of the previous trends, making it possible to question them and imagine very different outcomes. Inevitably, part of that re-consideration involved the role of tourism as one of the engines of growth, not in isolation, but as part of a highly intertwined set of questions that were addressed in the studio such as:

How to treat the Littoral as a unique example of living with severe geographic limitations and the risk posed by nature?

How to deal with flood control issues and at the same time provide environmental conditions that may reinforce the recreational nature of the Littoral, create a new urban identity, and attract new investment?

How to create an attractive built environment, take advantage of the scenic values of the site, and protect the fragile ecosystems of the adjacent National Park from illegal occupation?

With an intensive site visit during January 2001, Harvard students were able to view the existing conditions in the devastated coastal fringe first hand. They experienced the relationship of the Littoral to the greater Metropolitan Area of Caracas

GSD STUDENTS Andrea Korber - Anne Wilkerson - Christopher Mathews - Frank Ruchala - Jamie Phillips

Matsushima - Trina Gunther UNIMET STUDENTS Amalia Borrajo - Gabriela San Claudio - Nataly Haratz



and gained sensitivity to the capital's particular urban conditions and cultural nuances. During this visit, GSD and Unimet students jointly participated in what designers call 'charrettes' (intensive group brainstorming sessions over maps and tracing paper) providing them a first opportunity to work together. Carried away by their passionate advocacy for different approaches, the students used a combination of drawing, sign language, and the limited knowledge of each other's languages to overcome the language barrier. They became a flawlessly integrated team-staking out initial hypotheses, and identifying particular themes to be addressed in more detail later in the studio.

The students then carried out detailed site analyzes, focusing on characteristics such as local history, geography, urban structure, and relevant precedents. From these analyzes another way of viewing tourism as part of the overall picture began to emerge. It challenged a number of basic assumptions:

That despite the presence of the international airport and the potential for an enlarged cruise port, this part of the Littoral would only be of interest to local visitors.

That even for locals this area would function primarily as a corridor to get to the more popular beaches to the east.

That the model for more effective tourism was the self-contained compound in which the visitors would be largely segregated from the local population.

As they became familiar with the site, the students began to uncover a series of latent

potentials that could be tapped to advance another very different model.

The 16th century Spanish colonial town, La Guaira, and its three imposing forts remained intact although damaged by the floods. These forts link to the original Spanish trail over the Avila Mountain to Caracas. A skillful strategy of restoration, adaptive reuse, and the framing of new relationships and public spaces could re-position these valuable resources as a heritage site of international importance, similar to Viejo San Juan, Cartagena, and Havana Vieja.

Similarly, the extraordinary Avila National Park rising abruptly from the coast, coupled with the need to open up 'reserves' of unbuilt land along the ravines seemed to offer a great opportunity to make a virtue out of a necessity. These reserves and the upstream dams and protective measures to open up the watercourses were the *sine qua non* in permitting the re-building effort to occur in the first place. The enhanced presence of nature, the students felt, could be turned into a new source of identity and an attraction, appealing to ecotourism as well as constituting an appropriate commemoration of what had happened there.

Students perceived the opportunity to develop the cultural dimension of the Littoral, building on the patterns of local tourism and inspired by precedents seen in visits to other parts of Caracas and to Choroní, further west along the coast. In field trips to these sites, students had become familiar with the way in which local craft and food markets, festivals, cuisine, recreation, and the appreciation of tropical architecture and landscape could all become part

of a shared experience, including local tourists and residents, and allowing visitors to sample the unique features and products of the country, while providing desperately needed new sources of income.

The fact that major elements of transportation infrastructure, including the airport and the port both on this site and requiring significant upgrading, suggested new ways of integrating the experience of travel with visits of the area and connections to other areas. In particular, the potential was seen to make connections between international air travel and short flights and cruise ships, taking advantage of the Littoral's potential as a jumping off point for other destinations such as Margarita Island and Angel's Falls.

The coastal main road, Avenida Soublette, required substantial re-building. This provided an opportunity to reshape it as an attractive seaside boulevard that would calm traffic and emphasize local destinations places to stay, museums, and things to do and see-and not just to speed by. In turn, such a pleasant boulevard would allow for the redevelopment of key intersections. At these, a variety of travel modes could be provided and connected, ranging from long distance buses, to local jeep service up the slopes, to water shuttles, to recreational hiking and horseback excursions, integrating daily and special use and making many local attractions, currently unknown to outsiders, more accessible.

The students took these ideas and others and worked as a team to produce a shared urban design framework for the Littoral. They made determinations about the type and scale of development appropriate for areas of the site, appropriate new uses, and

Kayako Nakanishi Kevin Benham Krista Benson Lisa Chung Pablo Allard Takame
Rafael Canelon Rafael Vallario Roxana Acevedo Sete Bentata Teresa Montesano



Ken Greenberg discusses the project with GSD/Unimet team

formulated objectives for shaping new infrastructure. In these deliberations, we asked them to carefully balance the need for specificity, versus the need for flexibility in setting the stage for specific public and private development moves. This involved refinement and negotiation among themselves as an overall framework and common principles and guidelines were assembled.

As this work unfolded, fundamental questions arose which provided a context for addressing the role of tourism: How do we define the client for our efforts? How do we respond to the natural limits? How do we work with the informal sector? In the process of attempting answers to these questions, the opportunity for a kind of tourism in this area reflecting values that the students endorsed, became a key component of the overall strategy. Its diverse roles included a center for La Guaira—Maiquetía, a gateway to the Avila, a playground for Caracas, an enhanced Capitol for Vargas State, and a showpiece for Venezuela.

Within the shared framework, students then developed individual proposals, many of which explored themes that related to the tourism potential. Taken together they produce a mosaic of responses ranging from the very large scale of imagining the Simón-Bolívar airport as a regional-hub in Latin America and as an urban core of the Littoral to the very fine grain of such projects as new piers for recreational activities and flood control mechanisms as cultural art icons.

Several aspects of this studio experience were notable. Within each component of the joint studio the range of disciplinary backgrounds and knowledge of the individual students became a positive resource encouraging crossover explorations and solutions not bounded by a single area of expertise. This blending and intertwining of collective work

exposed the students to scales of intervention which closely simulate real world experience of urban design practice.

Several of the students, for example, had backgrounds in economics. They were able bring particular attention to the need to use modest levels of investment strategically in the proposals, to find local strengths and economic niches and exploit them effectively, and to devise incentives to expand on

what already exists on the ground. Some of the most challenging issues in this respect involved the links and interdependencies between the formal and informal market sectors and the need to engage both.

The landscape architects led an effort to find a solution to protect green spaces, including the National Park. Recognizing that the current border of the National Park is meaningless in ecological terms, it was recommended that the existing barrios in the National Park be legitimized by passing the land to Vargas state, enabling the state to implement measures to prevent future barrio growth. In return, new National Park lands would be designated to protect the beaches east of Los Caracas and to finally connect the National Park to the sea. In Mount Avila, the ravines would be redesigned as attractive open space for the urban areas, providing better protection from future floods and serving a variety of social functions. Public access would be maintained continuously along the coastline, allowing everyone access to the Littoral's main asset.

An extraordinary relationship developed between the two groups, GSD and Unimet, at all levels, professional, inter-cultural, and personal. Without the hospitality and deeply generous welcome and insights of the Venezuelans, the GSD students could never have attained the level of understanding that they did of a profoundly different and stressed situation. The GSD students brought fresh eyes and enthusiasm, offering some ways for the Venezuelans to see the familiar in a new light.

A key lesson learned from this joint investigation is that ideally tourism does not function as a stand-alone activity. Rather it operates as an added capacity built into the mix and fabric of a place at many levels, making it hospitable and accessible, adding cultural richness, and bringing economic benefit, without major disruptions to local patterns.

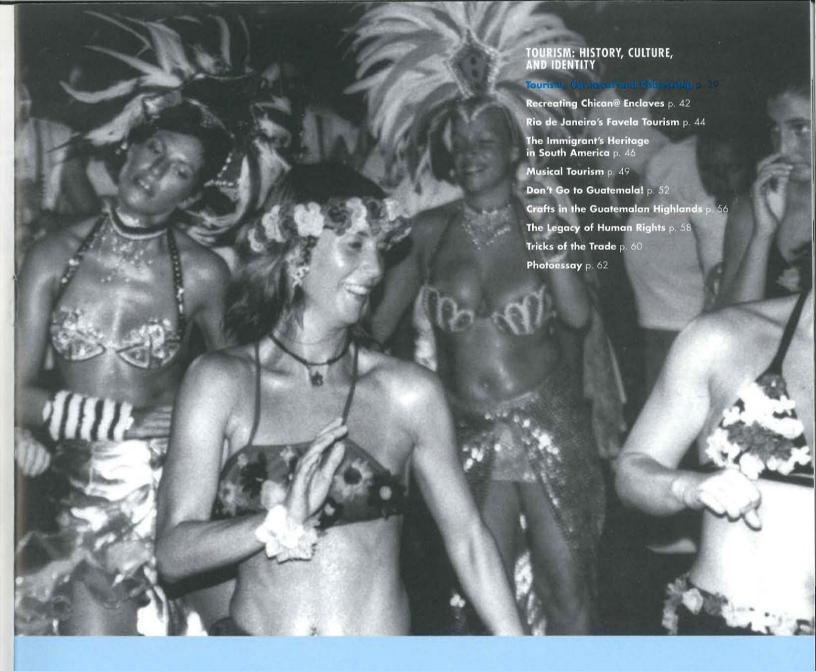
Ken Greenberg was a Visiting Critic
Spring Term 2000 at the Harvard
Graduate School of Design. As Principal
of Greenberg Consultants Ltd., based in
Toronto, he has played a leading role on a
broad range of urban design assignments in
highly diverse urban settings in his own city
of Toronto and in such cities as Amsterdam,
Paris, Montreal, and San Juan, Puerto
Rico. His recent projects include the awardwinning Saint Paul on the Mississippi
Development Framework, the Master
Plan for the Brooklyn Bridge Park on the
East River in New York, and plans for
the North Delaware River in Philadelphia.

New Book on the Littoral

DRCLAS Cisneros Visiting Scholar Oscar Grauer is editor of a book published in English and Spanish that describes the redevelopment project, Rehabilitación de El Litoral Central, Venezuela Redevelopment of El Litoral Central, Venezuela. The book on the Venezuelan Littoral contains essays by both Harvard Graduate School of Design and Universidad Metropolitana (Unimet, Caracas) students. Published by Oscar Todtmann Editores (ISBN: 980-6028-61-9), the volume can be ordered from Amazon.com or Oscar Todtmann Editores, Centro Comercial El Bosque. Local 4. Avenida Libertador. Caracas 1050. Venezuela, telephones: (58) (212) 762.52.44 / 763.0881; <todtmann@telcel.net.ve>.

Grauer, professor and chairman of the Urban Design Master Program at Universidad Metropolitana in Caracas, Venezuela, is currently working on the project, "Social Housing as Public Policy vs. Urban Design as Public Policy: Squatter Settlements and Housing Deficit."





Tourism, Carnaval and Citizenship

Looking at Salvador, Bahia, Brazil

BY ROWAN IRELAND

T's CARNAVAL 1996, AND I AM IN SALVADOR FOR JUST TWO WEEKS to do fieldwork. My colleagues in São Paulo, usually respectful of my efforts as a participant observer of various forms of associational life at the grassroots in urban Brazil, find it hard to take this particular venture seriously. They endorse my focus on the role of associations in the formation of democratic citizens, the theme pursued in my fieldwork in favelas in São Paulo and Recife. And it makes sense to them that in Salvador, Bahia, where over three quarters of the population is Afro-Brazilian, I should be studying associations and movements which might be fostering citizenship in a politically and economically subordinated and disadvantaged Black majority. But, my friends ask rhetori-

cally, "carnival associations? And during carnaval?" That's not field-work, but mere tourism!

For them *carnaval* is time out, pure fantasia, an escape from every-day reality into a separate world of noisy sensuous fun. It has nothing to do with the serious business of fostering civil rights of Afro-Brazilians or empowering them as citizens. And the *carnaval* associations — well they are not the autonomous civil associations they know I'm looking for, but one of two kinds. On the one hand, they say, there are the old *blocos* like Filhos de Gandhi, which lock Blacks into a system of patronage dominated by white elites and reproduce the hegemonic ideology known as *baianidade*. On the other hand, the newer *blocos afro*, represented by Olodum, claim-



Previous page: "Scandinavian samba"; above: "cafuz"

ing to foster a sort of Afro-Brazilian citizenship movement, but basically failing to live up to the aspiration. In the view of these properly skeptical social scientists, Olodum may be a culture industry success story, satisfying tourists with samba-reggae, producing CDs with SONY and enriching its directors. But it has achieved all this at the price of becoming a creature of the industry, adrift from its local roots.

I know my friendly colleagues are not against my having fun, and I know they are well-informed: their critique of carnaval and of the *blocos afro*, echoes much I have read in the academic literature and heard from Brazil's Movimento Negro Unificado activists. So I have to take their questions, and extensions of them, very seriously. Am I a mere tourist? Insofar as I am, does that mean I'm part of an undifferentiated band of consumers who get what they demand, and as they do, destroy not only local culture, but the creative role of locals in the negotiation of social and cultural change? Is *carnaval* only a momentary escape from reality, as much for locals as for the tourists? Are the *blocos afro*, far from wresting control over the production and

content of *carnaval* from local white elites and the tourists, becoming part of the problem of commodification: exploiting rather than nurturing local creative energies for the gain of a global cultural enterprise?

Let me sketch answers to these questions as I reflect on some of my fieldnotes, taking advantage not only of views and information taken on board since 1996, but of the luggage I took into the field: largely research reports and interview transcripts prepared by my one-time research assistant, Piers Armstrong, in 1992-3.

REFLECTIONS ON A COMPOSITE OF FIELDNOTES: 1996 CARNAVAL ON THE STREET

Down on the street carnaval engages all the senses and stirs every emotion. At one moment, the tri-eletricos (trucks with banks of powerful speakers forming the walls of a high platform on top of which is an amplified band) engulf me in a roiling surf of sound. At another, as I'm swept forward or back in the moving crowd, my whole body resonates to the thunder of a phalanx of drummers. Now there's just enough

room to dance, vicariously experiencing the boneless muscle flow and skilled abandon of the dancers on floats. Then the space closes and I'm swept along in the flow of the street, jostled, moving always moving, but out of control now. Time for seeing: the red black and gold of Olodum is succeeded by the white and blue of another bloco, and on the floats gorgeous costumes, and less attired gorgeous bodies. Eros stirs, but other emotions too: fear of the flow, of sporadic violence, of being out of control; the anxieties of the stranger aware of being able to read only an unknown proportion of the cascade of meanings and messages; on the other hand, intense gratitude for the collective generosity that welcomes me into this so corporeal farewell to the flesh.

A few times I'm excluded: an Afro Brazilian friend has taken me to accompany the first appearances (the saidas) of the blocos afro Olodum (February 16) and Ilê Aiyê (February 17) and he takes me where he is entitled to go and I'm not, inside the stout maritime rope, the corda, that encircles bloco members. I'm alternately bidden outside by bloco marshals and persuaded back in by my protector. Even outside the corda, however, I can join in this year's bloco songs that I have to learn over the hours of the parade but that have clearly long since been rehearsed by everyone else: songs of identity, of the struggles and achievements of Afro Brazilians here in Salvador and all Africans of the diaspora, songs of love and longing and hope.

ON TOURISM AND TOURISTS

Tourist I may be in all this, but not much in control of anything, and certainly not witness to a performance for me or for other tourists. I never managed to get down to Salvador's pale imitation of Rio's Sambódromo to be the real tourist, up on the stands, consuming the local color. But who is the real tourist among the 450,000 so-called tourists who swell Salvador's 2.5 million population at Carnaval time? We're a diverse lot, varied in purpose, origin, and budget, and our stories weave into the fabric of carnaval in quite different ways. One story—the one my Paulista friends had in mind, I think—goes like this:

The type one tourist from the North arrives in Salvador for the duration and heads for a reserved room in one of the magnificent ocean-front hotels down Ondina way where the stands are ready to frame the local color. S/he's after spectacle, amorous adventure, escape

Who is the real tourist among the 450,000 so-called tourists in Salvador at Carnaval time?

from the routines of the gray Northern winter. S/he wants fun, and has the money to pay for it. S/he contributes powerfully to *Carnaval* Inc., and helps *carnaval*-turned-commodity replace the *carnaval* of multiple meanings that locals once performed for themselves.

But there are other stories, including this far from untypical one: The young European or North American tourist lives it up on the street at *carnaval*, but has not come just for the occasion. This type two tourist has been drawn to Salvador by many things, including the sounds of Timbalada and the samba-reggae of Olodum. Knowledge of and admiration for the *blocos afro* has also played a part. S/he wants somehow to be part of the Afro-Brazilian identity and civil rights movement s/he believes is taking shape in and around the blocos in their year-round social and cultural activities. Occasionally s/he succeeds directly by contributing skills to the

already impressive pool of management and technical skills available in the blocos. More usually the contribution is in the form of validating Afro-Brazilian culture and brokering new relationships between white elites and the Afro-Brazilian population.

This latter story suggests a sort of virtuous circle in which local practices and cultural products attract a type of tourist who becomes part of a dense set of local and transnational socio-cultural exchanges. These add value to the local cultural product and channel resources to the projects for civil rights and social change promoted by the local producers of Afro-Brazilian culture. This virtuous circle coexists with, and helps counter the vicious circle suggested by the first story. In that, the local color attracts the type two tourist who boosts processes that turn the local cultural product into a commodity that is at best of scant 'use-value' in the lives of producers, and at worst subversive of any movement for enhanced Afro-Brazilian citizenship.

But to talk of containment of such a vicious circle suggests there must be signs of the virtuous circle in the carnaval itself.

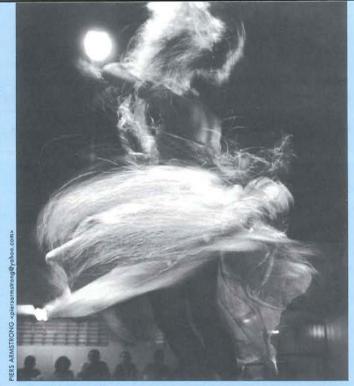
ON CARNAVAL AND THE BLOCOS AFRO

Perhaps my colleagues from São Paulo are right. My condensed record of three nights of carnaval speaks of lack of control, erotic charge, sensuous flow. But note in the saidas especially, those signs of firm intention, prepared statement, and long rehearsal, as well as the spontaneity and unpredictability. Ilê Aiyê sets out from its year round headquarters, several miles out from downtown, very much as the Afro-Brazilian bloco of a particular community. The neighborhoods of Liberdade define their historical community in the rituals of departure. In those songs, led by young musicians trained in Ilê Aiyê's neighborhood school, the community celebrates a proud local history and tells itself and the city that it is on the move for a brighter future for all Afro-Brazilians. Olodum, setting out from a different neighborhood, similarly manifests its character as a year-round Afro-Brazilian community association, even as it celebrates a more cosmopolitan Afro-Brazilian identity, that of the African diaspora at home in Salvador.

The saidas also signal all that the skeptics told me I should find: involvement of the blocos afro in traditional patron-client politics, choreography for TV and the tourists. But, as well, here was massive and moving display of these blocos afro as central formative associations in vital local communities and in a variegated Afro-Brazilian identity movement. Olodum and Ilê Aiyê, in their different ways, emerge as elements in the virtuous circle that challenges the skeptics. They foster and empower local creativity through the year; they create opportunity and public space for local performers who (in the case of Olodum especially) attract not only the local poor, but also well-resourced young members of Salvador's elite, as well as the tourists. They channel resources back into the local communities for neighborhood projects and further encourage local cultural creativity. And in all this, thus far, they and the locals remain in control, even as they cater to (while also transforming) the tastes and expectations of the outsiders.

SOME CONCLUSIONS.

From the vantage point of the *saidas*, the whole of *carnaval* can be seen as a sort of argument, joyful, exhilarating, occasionally violent, between various Afro-Brazilian identities, conceptions of the past and dreams of the future. And it remains an argument largely between



"Deusa Um-dança"

locals, for locals. Given that it has also become a tourist magnet, and harnessed to the globalized tourist and culture-production industries, how has it avoided the fate expected by the skeptics?

Part of the answer emerges as we look again at the bloco afro performers, at the carnaval performances themselves, and at spaces in which the performances take place. The performers in the bloco afro processions - not just the lead drummers and singers but the throng within the corda - are members of a local community performing for that community, more than they are for tourists and other spectators. One of their shared beliefs is that they are re-creating and strengthening their imagined community in the fun of carnival. The performance itself is not an event detached from communal life, but a vital product of year-round competition and rehearsal within the community. And it is performance made anew every year with new themes, new songs and rhythms, not a repetition of dead, if colorful tradition for the sake of type-one tourists. The saidas look to the past as they depart from places heavy with the symbols of slavery - the slave-markets, the neighborhood remembered as the refuge of runaway and rebel slaves. Then the blocos set out through the streets of cosmopolitan Salvador to make an exuberant claim on the future.

Here is proof against the vicious circles, destructive of local community, culture, and ultimately Afro-Brazilian citizenship, in which our type one tourists have a part. Constantly re-created performances of a remembered past and a desired future, rooted in the year-round, every day life of Afro-Brazilian communities, generate the energies, moods and motivations for new forms of Afro-Brazilian citizenship. And in the virtuous circles that link the fun of *carnaval* to this deepening of Brazilian democracy, our type two tourists have a small but significant role.

Rowan Ireland is a Lemann Scholar at DRCLAS for the Fall semester. When in Brazil and not dancing carnaval, he studies social movements and religion and politics. He teaches in Latin American Studies and the Sociology/Anthropology Program at La Trobe University in Australia.

Recreating Chican@ Enclaves

Tourist Trends in the San Luis Valley of Southern Colorado

BY MARIA MONDRAGON-VALDEZ

entrally located between southern Colorado and northern New Mexico, is an intermountain basin known as the San Luis Valley. Surrounded by the two mountain ranges, the Rio Grande del Norte traverses down the middle of the elongated landmass I call home. Because home is a place of security and refuge in the wake of September 11th, I have become preoccupied with global threats. And yet, I cannot ignore important local issues. In this instance, how change agents, like tourism, are influencing culture and religion in the Rio Culebra enclaves of southern Costilla County where I live.

In 1851, the first permanent settlements in the San Luis Valley were established by mestizo pobladores from New Mexico's Taos Valley; my husband's and my ancestors were among this group. A decade later the Territory of Colorado usurped the far northern uplands of New Mexican, including the San Luis Valley. As a consequence, several thousands of Nuevomexicanos living in the newly annexed territory became unwilling residents of a state that was hostile to their historic land claims and intolerant of Indohispan@s. Located at the eastern end of the valley, Costilla County was among Colorado's first 17 counties. During Colorado's Territorial Period (1861-1876), the

Tourism—among other agents of change—is influencing culture and religion in my hometown.

Denver-based Rocky Mountain News used hispano-phobic imagery to justify privatization of Mexican Era communal lands in Costilla County, while real estate promoters touted the mineral and agricultural potential of the area to miners, farmers, and urban emigrants looking to capitalize on resources in the former Mexican Republic.

Because the San Luis Valley was considered to be a part of the Wild West, American journalists and travel writers were magnetized to the region, including journalist Charles Flecher Lummis. Briefly visiting in 1884, Lummis stopped in Alamosa, the valley's largest town, to mail a series of letters to Ohio's Chillicothe Leader. Although he used racially diminutive slurs to describe Mexican@s residing in southern Colorado, Lummis coined the term "Southwest" and published monographs and romantic novels popularizing Pueblo dwellers and Indohispanos as exotic "Others". Because of Lummis' work, culture became a tourist commodity in New Mexico and eventually in southern Colorado.

Lummis's story became important to me after I attended a seminar on Anthropology of Tourism taught by Dr. Sylvia Rodriguez at the University of New Mexico. Rodriguez writes extensively on the impacts of amenity tourism in her hometown of Taos, located 60 miles south of Costilla County. As a consequence I became interested in tracking how government-sponsored tourism was influencing enclaves in neighboring southern Costilla County and the county seat of San Luis to become quaint and idyllic "sights." Since

the late 1960s, War on Poverty programs had promoted a tourism complex, convention center, and a historic recreation of the San Luis Plaza in the mode of Williamsburg to mediate underemployment. Because of a lack of funding and as the plaza never lived up to the colonial ideal, the project failed.

Well before contemporary tourism made headway in Costilla County, San Luis was described as being "purely Mexican" in its "prevailing style of architecture and in the customs" with "scenery rivaling...the Alps and other classic lands of the tourist and traveler." In this context, a lay Catholic society known as La Sociedad de Nuestro Padre Jesús Nazareno, or Los Hermanos Penitentes, emerged as a tourist "sight."

Formalized in New Mexico near the end of the eighteenth century, the cofradia, or brotherhood, replicated important religious ceremonies and provided spiritual comfort in the absence of priests. Scholars speculate that the cofradia was rooted in the Third Order of St. Francis, a lay society introduced in New Mexico through the long tenure of the Franciscans. The order as Nuevomexican@ moved northward into

the San Luis Valley in the middle of the nineteenth century. Since replication of penitential rituals including selfflagellation, the cofradia

always situated their moradas (places for prayer) in remote areas. Privacy not only allowed the hermanos to perform ritual cleansing, it fostered group-solidarity and maintained religious customs during American penetration. In the aftermath of American occupation of the region, came unfounded rumors of human crucifixion during Semana Santa, or Holy Week. Ignorant of the cofradia's mutual aid activities, European and Anglo-American priests were scandalized. While the priests attempted to control the brotherhood, Protestant Missionaries focused on conversion of the leadership. In the San Luis Valley, the U.S. Army (based at the northern end of Costilla County) twice attempted to disrupt ceremonies in the 1860s. It is clear that race relations intersected with the brotherhood, as hermanos, who were Mexicano, were driven underground.

Predictably, Charles Lummis introduced the penitentes to American audiences in the 1880s. Stereotyped in his embellished ethnographic accounts as fanatics, Lummis sensationalized penitential practices. Worse yet, are a series of photos taken by Lummis's of hermanos flagellating and a mock crucifixion in a remote New Mexican village in 1888. Although these



images stigmatized the brotherhood, photos were taken after Lummis forcefully intruded with his camera with an armed guard at his side. To make his case against Catholicism, Reverend Alex Darley, the self-proclaimed "Apostle of the Colorado Mexicans", rehashed Loomis's observations. Darley's publications and Lummis's ethnographies had a profound impact as newspapers reprinted serial accounts, which prompted thrill-seeking tourists to clandestinely view hermano rituals in the 1920s. During the Great Depression, public opinion softened and eventually the Catholic Church recognized the brotherhood in 1947. Ironically, although Lummis wanted the brotherhood banned, Darley's stated: "Here are sights for strong-stomached tourists."

In 1991, the Colorado Transportation Commission designated Caminos Antigos Byway as a self-guided tour route within the San Luis Valley. Supported by a consortium of federal, state, and local entities, the Byway deemed southern Costilla County as "the heart of the Spanish-Mexican villages of the Rio Culebra watershed." In an attempt to prod tourists to visit "obscure areas" in the watershed, the Byway focused on "interpreting cultural heritage" through "lure brochures and a promotional video," and a "series of kiosks and inter-

Scenic Byway Los Caminos **Antiguos**

pretive displays". Because of the cofradia possess the cultural imagery needed to make the Byway successful and as two moradas are located along the pathway, a plan called for the oldest morada to have a 36" x 24" ...low-profile wayside exhibit" placed in proximity to the structure, which is traditionally shuttered and closed to non-members.

In 1998, local Byway organizers applied to Federal Highway Administration for expanded funding to conduct thematic weekend tours of "Hispano Mission Churches in Costilla County" and a guided visit to a morada. In a thinly veiled attempt to pretend that tourists would not intrude, promotional material stated that the morada could only be viewed from the outside. However, since Caminos Antiguos focused on cultural interpretation, the schedule promised: "hermanos will be on hand to interpret the significance of the Penitentes." In 2001, three spiritual retreats were incorporated into the tour; finally, visitors were able to hear prayers in Spanish and to listen to alabados, or hymns of los hermanos. Tour costs included guides, logistics crew, meals, and over-night lodging. At this writing tours did not materialized, and local guides and logistic crews who attended required hospitality training without any pay, are disappointed.

The marketing the rural village of southern Costilla County as cultural artifacts of Colorado's "Mythic West" is a part of the trend to recreate Latin@ culture for mass consumption. Clearly, local support for heritage-oriented tourism comes from the promise of lasting economic prosperity. Regardless, the monolithic imagery of the local culture as a relic of the past contradicts reality. Time did not stand still in Costilla County; because we live in the 21st century, albeit in a rural setting, residents are modern and diverse. Despite, the fact that those who do not directly benefit from the Byway have not consented to cultural interpretation, government-sponsored tourism continues to microscopically penetrate the community and groups like the hermanos without thought.

Since the hegemonic structure of tourism in the Southwest is complex, this story has gray areas. For the past twelve years my husband and I have worked to document historic adobe structures in Costilla County to protect culturally sensitive areas. Unbeknownst to us, our research has been appropriated and our names used by tourist promoters. This bitter pill is made all the more difficult as my husband Arnold is an active member of the hermandad. We know first hand that the hermanos help families to grieve as they prayed and sung at my father's wake in October and their Lenten services are contemplative opportunities for improvement. Of course there are no secrets, after all the archive on the Penitentes is voluminous and coffee table books abound. Still not "all" of the hermanos —like many other subjects of tourist curiosity—consented to be an interpretive display. The question is now, will the traditional leadership resist the latest temptation or will the penitentes allow tourist promoters to make them into a medieval artifact? Whatever the answer, group spirituality and privacy will be fractured by the intrusive nature of the Byway.

Doctoral candidate at the University of New Mexico, Department of American Studies, Mondragon-Valdez is an activist working on Mexican land grants and local environmental issues. As cofounder of Valdez & Associates, Maria and her husband Arnold (a Loeb Fellow who studied at Harvard in 2000), have researched and written on the architectural history of Costilla County for the past twelve years. Maria dedicates this piece to her father Charles Mondragon (1922-2001).

Rio de Janeiro's Favela Tourism

Off the Beaten Track', Urban Style

BY VIVIANE MAHIEUX

the glitzy lobby of a Copacabana hotel. Amongst flyers at the reception desk announcing visits to the city's famous sights, such as the Pão de Açúcar and the Corcovado, I found a pile of leaflets entitled "Favela Tour." Curious, I picked one up. It seemed strange to find amongst such mainstream trips an ad for visits to favelas, the shantytowns which cover many of Rio's steep hills and are linked to poverty, violence and drug trafficking in the minds of many. The flyer featured a photograph of a group of middle- aged tourists against a backdrop of small brick houses perched along a steep incline. The tourists, contented and secure, gazed at the scene with their cameras in hand.

My first reaction was of discomfort. I couldn't imagine visiting a community living in poverty, and then returning to my hotel room to place a check mark on one more of the city's must sees. Favelas would need to remain poor and officially dangerous for tourists in order to be worth visiting, and there was something voyeuristic and exploitative about visiting a shantytown while expecting it to remain 'just so' despite the continuous gaze of tourists.

Indeed, as Harvard graduate student Ben Penglase points out, "These communities have been romanticized and denigrated in many different ways. It's a complicated subject." Adds Penglase, who is writing his doctoral dissertation on local politics in a favela, "It's almost never the people who live in the community who have any control over how they are represented."

Oddly, the flyer seemed to anticipate this reaction. The descrip-

tion of the tour focused on community organization and claimed to change the reputation of favelas, "often related to violence and poverty only." Underneath the photograph, I was amused to read: "Informative and surprising, not voyeuristic at all." It was ridiculous, I felt, to deny voyeurism while presenting a picture of tourists photographing a community from afar. But the more I thought about it, the more this contradiction seemed the perfect way to package favelas for tourist consumption. It tempted our curiosity by evoking the recognizable stereotype of urban poverty, which it also promised to undermine. And it implied that our presence would be welcome where it most likely was not.

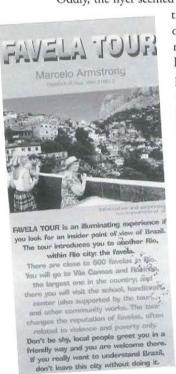
This marketing strategy has worked, and favela tours have become an important part of Rio's tourism. It's certainly not the first attempt to market this type of tourism to the "other."

One has to go no further than the New York City tours to Harlem or the old Bowery. In Rio, two large tour companies dominate the market, although many independent guides also offer their services. The company "Favela Tour," whose flyer first attracted my attention, has been in operation for almost 10 years, and now takes close to 4,500 clients a year to visits to Rocinha (one of Rio's largest favelas) and Vila Canoas (a much smaller community). Company owner Marcelo Armstrong says the international clientele is 65% from Europe and 20% from the United States. His clients come from all social and economic backgrounds, from young backpackers to older clients staying in five star hotels. The rival company, "Jeep Tours" also takes visitors to Rocinha in, as the name indicates, convertible jeeps, ideal for rough terrain.

As a genre, favela tours tend to be grouped with adventure tourism rather than cultural sightseeing, as if poverty and semi-legal conditions render favelas closer to nature than other urban destinations. Some tourist guidebooks take up this city vs. nature dichotomy by describing favelas as independent and close-knit entities divorced from their urban surroundings. The *Insight Guide* describes a favela as "an anthill, bustling with activity." The *Rough Guide* talks about the difficulties of favela life, as well as their picturesqueness: "Clinging to the sides of Rio's hills and glistening in the sun, they can from a distance appear not unlike a Medieval Spanish hamlet, perched secure atop a mountain."

Favelas are perfect urban candidates for "off the beaten track" adventure tourism because they are marked off from the rest of the city by geography. Rio's south zone thoroughfares were designed on flat areas in a systematic grid, while favelas are restricted to the steep slopes of the hills, or "morros," scattered within the city. Favelas are also literally off the map. The hills separating different neighborhoods are colored in green in most tourist maps, giving no recognition to the unofficial constructions covering them. Yet whenever I walked along the shady streets of Copacabana, I could rarely look up without catching a glimpse of reddish brown houses looking down from between the neighborhood's tall gray apartment buildings. Always in sight, favelas are constant reminders that maps do not tell all, and that Rio's dramatic hills belie social inequalities which are just as drastic.

I finally opted to go visit a favela. I simply could not decide whether such tours were constructive cultural experiences or simply a means to exploit the myth of an urban "noble savage," without experiencing them myself. On a warm and cloudy afternoon, I set out with fellow students from my summer language program towards Leme, a small neighborhood at the far end of Copacabana. We met Mido, an independent guide, at a boardwalk restaurant, and headed away from the beach for a mere three blocks before starting the steep walk up to the small community of Chapéu Mangueira. The road soon narrowed so that we had to walk almost single file. The muddy pathways had no name and swerved around in a haphazard manner. They were lined with modest constructions,



sometimes two or three stories high. Some buildings were simple, made of bare bricks with tin roofs, while others bordered on the coquettish, with bougainvilleas crawling through front gates into the street. At one corner, I glanced away from the slippery path and found myself gazing at the sea from the same height as the top floor of a nearby Leme apartment building.

We first stopped at a health center and at a kindergarten, and Mido explained that both were built and maintained with community resources. The small center primarily served to provide information on issues such as sexuality and nutrition, although it was also equipped to provide basic care. The kindergarten doubled as a day care center, so that working mothers could leave their children during the daytime. In both places, community residents kindly greeted us. People seemed accustomed to answering all types of questions, and did not appear to mind our faltering Portuguese.

Next, we halted at a small convenience store and sat on benches where we could chat and look out onto the narrow alley. Only a few people were walking around the neighborhood. Mido explained that many residents worked down in Rio, making this favela quiet during the day. Quite a few people preferred to use the term "comunidade," disliking the social stigma associated with living in a favela. Most of this favela's inhabitants were Afro-Brazilians from the state of Minas Gerais, and the community grew through family connections, we learned. New arrivals would stay with relatives for some time, and then move on to build their own house on some clear land. The favela grew from the bottom up. The best established residences were lower down, while the newest and poorest houses were higher up, making up for lack of infrastructure with an even better view.

Despite being labeled a favela, this community was not as poor as I had expected. Most houses looked solid and weatherproof, with running water and electricity. Many even sported a satellite dish on their roof. Plump dogs wandered around the pathways, and my Guaraná soda cost one real, as it would at any beachfront Copacabana kiosk. I was surprised to discover that the term favela, which today synonymous with shantytown, originally designated a tree which

Although I was presented with a sanitized version of favela life, it wasn't packaged in exotic terms.

grew high on Rio's hills. Newcomers claimed to where the favelas were, and these communities of squatters slowly assumed the name.

As we left Chapéu Mangueira, descending a steep staircase neatly hidden between two apartment buildings, I did not regret my trip. In many ways, I was presented with a sanitized version of favela life, but it wasn't packaged in the exotic terms that I had anticipated. I discovered that not all favelas are synonymous with poverty, and that the presence of visitors could bring some money into their economy. Our guide was a Chapéu Mangeira resident who contributes part of his earnings to community maintenance, and Marcelo Armstrong's company helps support a handicraft center where residents can sell their wares.

One question kept troubling me. Why did favela tourism become



Opposite page: favela tour brochure; above: view of a favela

popular in Rio, and not anywhere else? I could not imagine tours visiting 'paracaidistas', or parachuters, as squatters are commonly known in Mexico City, although many live in similar conditions. But 'paracaidistas' do not have the breathtaking view of many favelas, I decided, nor are they often romanticized in popular culture. Rio's famous "escolas de Samba," which liven up the city's carnival, are often based in favelas and contribute to their mystique by linking them with exuberant and reckless festivities. The touristy "Feria Hippie," held every Sunday in Ipanema, has a corner devoted to naive paintings of Rio's favelas: tiny square houses covering a steep hill like an irregular mosaic, framed by a bright blue sky and an occasional palm tree. The exotic image of favelas has also spread beyond Brazil. In 1996, Michael Jackson's music video "They don't care about us," was filmed in Rio's Santa Marta favela. And in Paris, the restaurant and nightclub "Favela Chic" provides the city with a steady flow of Brazilian music.

Despite the importance of realizing that Rio is not all glamour, what first catches the eye of many potential favela visitors is the romance and danger associated with the concept. The curious fas-

> cination provoked by favelas reminded me of Edward Said's argument in Orientalism, where the western gaze, though mesmerized by the Orient's mystique, also functioned as an instrument of cultural and imperialist

control. Like the Orient for the West, favelas are defined as an exotic 'other' for the tourist, whose gaze also has the power to define the ways in which favelas can relate to outside communities. Today, favelas still need to fit into the category of "no man's land" to draw attention in the public domain, as Radio Favela, an organization based in Belo Horizonte, well knows. Its web page welcomes visitors with a sign that reads "entre aquí, se for capaz," enter if you dare.

Viviane Mahieux is a graduate student in Harvard's Department Romance Languages and Literatures and is working on urban chronicles in early 20th century Argentina, Brazil and Mexico. She went to Rio on a Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) grant by the U.S. Department of Education to study Portuguese.

The Immigrants' Heritage in South America

Food and culture as a new sustainable tourism product

BY REGINA G. SCHLÜTER

ORE THAN A HUNDRED YEARS AGO, WAVES OF IMMIGRANTS arrived in South America. Many of these were to settle in the countries that today make up the MERCOSUR (Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay) and in the south of Chile. Germans and Italians, Poles and Ukrainians, Croats and Portuguese, Armenians and Welsh are just some of the ethnic groups who arrived to the new world full of hope, but also apprehensive about what lay ahead.

As immigrants transitioned into a new way of life, many nevertheless preserved their ethnic cuisines. But they also adopted the culinary tradition of their new country. In the Argentine case, for

example, the famous "asado" (Argentine barbecue) and the yerba mate infusion was—and continues to be—a staple of any diet, immigrant or local. However, homeland cuisine was seen as both a means of cultural affirmation and a contribution to the enrichment of local customs.

Now, these old immigrant trails have become specific culinary routes in Latin America's Southern Cone. Such routes, found predominantly in rural settings, highlight places where the gastronomy has unique and fascinating characteristics. They, in fact, act as instruments with which to rescue the culture and history of the inhabitants themselves. From an economic point of view, they allow for the exploitation of a great range of resources and, at the same time, they reduce marketing costs. The idea received a considerable boost when UNESCO recognized gastronomy as an intrinsic part of cultural heritage in the '90s.

With the passing of time, many immigrant customs such as architectural styles, became obsolescent, a phenomenon that did not occur vis-à-vis typical culinary dishes, rites, and customs, as the new gastronomic trails attest.

Yet remaining architecture often can be glimpsed along the culinary trails. For example, Germans of the Volga built entrances designed to deal with the snow in their new dwellings on the warm shores of the Paraná River, and Finns incongruously built saunas even in the tropical jungle.

The Germans and Swiss colonists in Argentina's southern-most Patagonia region successfully promote tourism by recreating natural settings strikingly similar to those found in Europe. The small Andean resort of "San Carlos de Bariloche," for example, was baptized "The Argentine Switzerland." Patagonia's eclectic cuisine also distinguishes it from the rest of Argentina. However, this was later seen as a misnomer by visiting members of the British Royal Family who, travelling in this region at the beginning of the twentieth century, found its rugged terrain more evocative of the Canadian

West. Patagonia still offers the classic "Patagonian Lamb" barbecue, one of the region's best-known delicacies. However, many of the region's European-origin dishes are now increasingly popular. Produced by the descendants of the original colonists, smoked trout, stag and wild boar patés, and other exotic delicacies can be found both in restaurants and wrapped in souvenir shops. These products have also found their place in supermarkets across Argentina, since local tourists, once in their hometowns, still desire to symbolically revisit the places they have toured by consuming those exotic delicacies. The jams and preserves produced in Patagonia from the infinite varieties of local berries and the mouth-watering assortments

As immigrants transitioned into a new way of life, many nevertheless preserved their ethnic cuisines as a means of cultural affirmation and a contribution to local customs.

of chocolates and cakes are among the delicacies that beckon tourists to the region. While the controversy as to whether the raspberry originally came from Europe or America rages on, berry cultivation intensifies. Developing from a tourist proposal, this region has become Argentina's main berry producer, thus generating benefits to the original colonists, as well as to newcomers.

The Welsh adopted the concept of reflecting a culture through gastronomy "par excellence." They settled on the shores of the Chubut River, near Patagonia's Atlantic coast. When the first contingent of tourists visited to view different species of marine fauna such as whales, penguins, sea elephants, and lions, they were amazed to find a plethora of small villages whose residents still maintained the language and customs imported from Wales more than 100 years before. It was not long before the descendants of those who had arrived in the small ship "Mimosa," the local version of the North American "Mayflower," started to open their houses to the public, and in these the "classic" Welsh tea was served. The enterprising housewives, now transformed into successful businesswomen, started to invent recipes for cakes that were to delight visiting tourists, mostly from Argentina itself. Over the course of time, they came to produce their very own cake, later generally known as "Welsh cake," always on offer at tourist fairs. Although ironically unknown in Wales, this kind of Christmas cake symbolizes the effort and dedication applied by the immigrants with regard to the region where they had settled.

Like the Welsh, the Germans were to make their presence felt by inventing recipes for cakes. However, they achieved considerable Clockwise from top: German architecture in Valvidia, Chile; An elegant German-style hotel in southern Brazil; German-style beer in Valvidia





Left: dining room mess hall for immigrants in hotel in Buenos Aires at the beginning of the 20th century; right: preparing Patagonian lamb

success by popularizing a drink widely accepted all over the world—beer. Thus, the southern Chilean city of Valdivia did not waste any time in showing aspects of German colonization through its beer museum. This tourist attraction, in fact, functions in a bar whose restaurant offers typical dishes; here, it is considered almost an affront to German culture to accompany this cuisine with wine. Also in the bar is a souvenir shop whose products have the inscription "das gute Bier (the good beer)-Valdivia" always appears.

Both domestic and international tourists often consciously followed a cuisine trail on their holidays.

The same phenomenon can be observed in the south of Brazil. In Blumenau the annual Oktoberfest has met such success that it has been extended to other localities in the south of the country. One of the greatest tourist attractions in the region, the Oktoberfest is as popular with Brazilians and Argentines during the summer as the nearby beaches of the Atlantic coast. While these cultural manifestations still attract many visitors, it was in the heyday of rural tourism that they had their greatest possibility for growth.

The Italians too made their mark in both Argentina and the south of Brazil. To this day, the rivalry between the two nations is not only limited to soccer, but extends to the claim to the world's best pizza, arguably better even than that prepared in Italy.

Both domestic and international tourists often consciously followed a cuisine trail on their holidays, as they seek to explore the attractions of different local gastronomies, in different regions.

More formal organized routes, as are being developed now, can stimulate tourism and focus on a product or a characteristic cultural feature. The first possibility for such a route would promote the consumption of popular products found extensively in the region. Thus, the stimulation of abundant products such as apples, wine, and fresh fruit enhances the development of a rural area by giving the value-added component of tourism to the product itself. With this in mind, in 2000, Argentina created the National Plan of Rural

Tourism, involving the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fishing and the Ministry of Tourism. Many of these routes have now been developed. Today, the wine route is the most popular. It links the different provinces with the most important wine cellars in the country. Although the first colonists originally started wine cellars, the efforts of immigrants—mostly Italian settlers—made them successful. The tourists do not only come to sample wine. With the Andes mountain range as a background, and ringed by an immense desert

watered by the mountains' thaws, the intense green of the vineyards offer unforgettable scenery. Aristocratic wine-growers' residences, built in a spectrum of styles and offering a comprehensive range of hospitality, attract an

ever-growing number of visitors seeking to combine culture and nature.

In Brazil a number of different cultural routes have already been designed. These routes, which seek to promote rural development, enshrine gastronomy. A case in point is the Italian Route, which enables tourists to acquaint themselves with the customs and traditions of the fist Italian settlers who arrived here around the end of the 19th century. In addition to the presentation of typical dishes, attention is also paid to wine, the thematic axis of which is the grape. These routes are, in turn, effective in uniting touristically the MERCOSUR countries and also Chile. Two classic examples of gastronomic trails which are ethnic in nature yet transcend national borders are the following: the German trail, which starts in Curitiba (Southern Brazil), traverses much of Argentina and finishes in Puerto Varas (Southern Chile); and the Italian trail, which starts in the Brazilian state of Parana and ends in the deep south of Argentina's Patagonia. At the time of writing, these trails, potentially so attractive to visiting gourmets, have yet to be fully developed by the tourism industry.

Regina Schlüter is Director of the Centre of Studies and Tourism -Buenos Aires, Argentina, and Editor of the academic journal Estudios y Perspectivas en Turismo (Studies and Perspectives in Tourism). She is also professor at the Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, Argentina.

Musical Tourism

A Harmonious Experience

BY LINDAJOY FENLEY

A LIVELY THREE-DOLLAR CASSETTE WITH A PHOTO OF AN OLD Mexican fiddler on the cover inspired me several years ago to journey from my home in Mexico City to a little-known hot-lands town in western Mexico to meet the musician. This casual weekend trip eventually led to the creation of an annual music festival *Encuentro de Dos Tradiciones*—a different way of doing tourism in Mexico.

While the festival seeks to showcase Juan Reynoso's music and the local culture of Tierra Caliente, Guerrero, it represents an alternative for tourists who want to make friends with people from a different culture. The key that opens the door: sharing traditional music from Mexico and other countries. Because it is an exchange of musical traditions, the festival avoids "objectification" of the host culture; it's conceived as a sharing, rather than "observed" and "observer." In addition to Calentana music from Tierra Caliente, Mexican styles that have been presented over the past five years include Son Arribeño (from the Sierra Gorda), Huapango (from the Huasteca), and Son Tixleco (from Tixtla, Guerrero). Visitors have brought Cajun, Appalachian, country blues, swing, Tex-Mex, Greek and Irish music from the United States, and Cape Breton fiddling from Canada.

By being able to both play their own music and appreciate the music they come to learn about, these "alternative" tourists help create a dialogue that reminds me of a research technique an ethnomusicologist friend told me about. Henrietta Yurchenco of New York, who participated in the third *Encuentro de Dos Tradiciones*, says she uses "the back porch method" of informal conversation to get her informants to volunteer more details naturally.

The musicians and music fans find out much more about the people of Mexico than many other groups of tourists because of their willingness to share something of themselves. They get to know the people who sit next to them at the concerts, those that cook and serve special meals, the Mexican musicians and other folks they meet along the way. It's a far cry from gawking at monuments or rushing from one city to another.

"We tell the truth with our violins," said Louisiana musician Dirk Powell. "And between one or two beers, we forget the border," he added in an impromptu poem he wrote during his second trip to Tierra Caliente in 1998.

Powell and his wife Christine Balfa of the Cajun band Balfa Toujours planted the seed for the Encuentro de Dos Tradiciones—the Encounter of Two Traditions—on July 3, 1996, when they and Reynoso performed at the same Festival of American Fiddle Tunes stage in Port Townsend, Washington. Dirk and Christine rushed up to meet Reynoso (now 89) and his two guitarist sons. Enthralled



Bayou Seco of New Mexico and the Grupo Huetamo of Michoacan share melodies on stage at a Dos Tradiciones concert



with the hauntingly beautiful Mexican music that was totally new to them, they decided to visit Mexico.

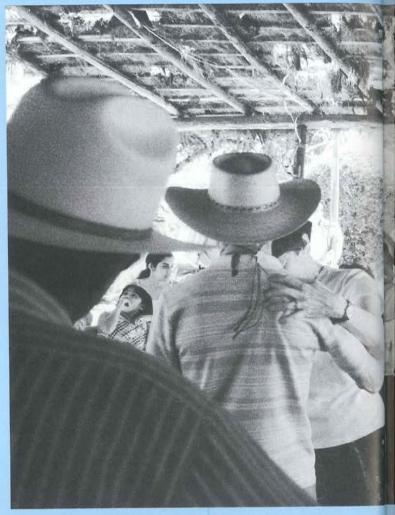
We looked forward to their visit and agreed it would be fun for them to share a stage in Mexico City. I decided to call the concert with the two groups the Encounter of Two Traditions. The following year the whole Balfa Toujours band came and the event expanded from a one-night venue in Mexico City to also include a weekend experience in Tierra Caliente with the Conjunto de Juan Reynoso and other local groups, the Brujos de Huejutla from Hidalgo, Yolotecuani from Tixtla, Guerrero, all representing Mexico; along with Balfa Toujours, the Fire Ants of Wyoming and several spontaneous groups from the United States.

The festival, now in its sixth year, features a Mexico City concert and dance workshops, followed by a trip to the Hotlands of Guerrero. The festival is having an impact on local culture, not by changing it but by encouraging preservation. We all agreed promoting Calentana music away from its roots wouldn't help revive this dying art unless there we would also stage upbeat experiences to inspire younger members of the culture to play.

If we could travel in a time machine, we would see that Calentana and Cajun music have something besides fiddles in common. Calentana music is little known outside of the parts of Michoacán and Guerrero where it is played. Even there it lacks the full respect it deserves. Several decades ago, Louisiana's Cajun music found itself in the same predicament. When Christine's father and uncles were invited to the Newport Folk Festival in 1964, front-page editorials urged them to stay home, saying that up north they'd be laughed off the stage for their funky, down-home sound.

An audience of thousands rewarded the Balfa Brothers with thundering applause and Christine's dad Dewey went on to promote Cajun music at home and abroad with pride. Cajun music is now known worldwide and attracts visitors to southwestern Louisiana whether or not there's a festival on the calendar.

Calentana music still lacks such acclaim. However, it is increasingly recognized; Mexico's president, Ernesto Zedillo, handed Juan Reynoso the National Award for Science and the Arts, the highest award an artist can receive in Mexico, in December 1997.

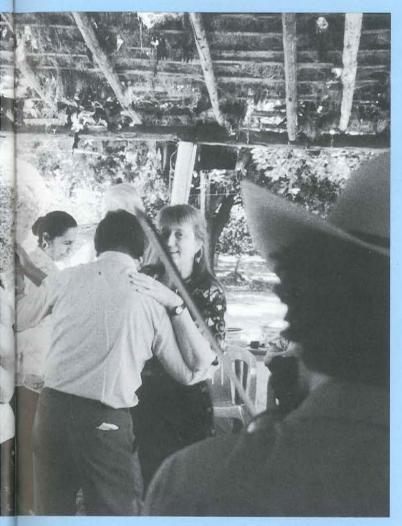


While the festival has inspired some musicians such as Paul Anastasio, a Seattle fiddler who started studying with Reynoso after the Dos Tradiciones festival began and now transcribes, records, and promotes Calentana music, the yearly event also spurs cultural exchange among non-musicians.

Jim Blau, now a Brown University student, said that even though he doesn't play music, he enjoyed the late-night jam sessions as well as the concerts.

"It's a powerful thing to be invited into someone's home and eat the food they eat," says Marla Streator, a fiddler from Port Townsend, Washington who makes it a point not to miss our annual event that starts in Mexico City and ends in Ciudad Altamirano, Guerrero, each March. She treasures her friendships with Reynoso, other musicians, and with a group of women who host a buffet breakfast at one of their homes our last morning in town each year. She also enjoys playing a role in breaking down stereotypes that divide people from different countries. "It's a relief for them to know we're not so judgmental," she says, noting the cross-cultural exchange gives everyone a chance to see the others as plain folks.

The type of personal involvement musical tourism makes possible puts dancers and non-musicians as well as musicians in touch with people from different cultures, almost always on a harmonious note. For me, however, opening the area to tourists with a musical focus has hit both highs and lows. For example, getting local



governments to pay some of the costs of putting on a free, international concert in a public plaza takes a good deal of my time and energy. Since the event has evolved into a series of three concerts in different towns each year, securing funding from three separate sources is an exercise I repeat again and again.

One year, the mayor of Tlalpehuala withdrew his previously enthusiastic invitation to our musical tourists just weeks before the event. The mayor of Cutzamala came to the rescue at the 11th hour by inviting the visitors to his plaza and hosting a generous fish feed just before the concert. But the city didn't have funds to help offset our principal costs.

Following the election of a new mayor in Ciudad Altamirano, that city refused to support the festival because the prior administration, a strong supporter of our festival for two years, belonged to a different political party. But every cloud has its silver lining. When ordinary citizens learned municipal support had been pulled, they took up a collection. Fortunately, by the time we started counting on individual donations from Altamirano residents, the federal government had granted us the ability to issue tax-deductible donation receipts.

Altamirano remains a key venue because it offers the only adequate hotels for our group of 40 or more participants as well as being the commercial center of the region on the Guerrero side of the Balsas River. It also is the closest city to Reynoso's home. We vary the other locations included in each tour since the cultural region called



Left to right: David Peñaloza and son Osvaldo play tixtleca music from Central Guerrero; Mexicans and US visitors dance while the Campesinos de la Sierra play after breakfast; Dos Tradiciones participants from Guerrero, Mexico City and Seattle get together on the bus

Tierra Caliente has 12 other municipalities to choose from in Guerrero, Michoacán and the state of Mexico.

In addition to municipal backing, support to pay for the headline musicians and other festival costs has come from the US-Mexico Fund for Culture (Rockefeller Foundation, Bancomer and the National Fund for Culture and the Arts), the United States and Canadian Embassies, and private companies such as airlines and hotels. Ed Littlefield, a Washington State musician and philanthropist, has provided major, ongoing funding.

The tourists—many of them accomplished musicians—also add economic resources. Their registration fees pay for their food, lodging and transportation and some of Dos Tradiciones' administrative costs. Their participation is just as important as their money by helping to bridge the gap between cultures. They come to learn about Mexican music and culture, and they share their own music and culture on and off stage.

Both the fiddler on the cassette I bought years ago and I believe our own encounter has changed our lives. Reynoso was living in near obscurity on a small amount of money he earned by playing in village bars and economic support from one of his sons is now an award-winning musician kept busy with performances and visitors. No longer a freelance journalist and foreign correspondent who happened to appreciate Mexican folk music, I now am the director of a non-profit organization that promotes traditional music from various countries who writes about music and culture rather than politics or economics.

The Dos Tradiciones trip into Tierra Caliente, five hours from my Mexico City home, has turned into a mission rather than a programmed adventure. Sharing the experience with others has taught me that musical tourism opens more than just ears. It opens hearts and minds to a culture on a basis of equality.

Lindajoy Fenley enjoyed a 30-year career in journalism before founding Dos Tradiciones, a non-profit organization promoting traditional music and cultural exchange. She has produced three festival compact discs and an annual magazine since 1998. Dos Tradiciones' web site (http://www.laneta.apc.org/DosTradiciones) offers more information about the festival which is open to traditional musicians and music fans from all countries.



Boycotting Pleasure and Violence

In the Land of Eternal Springtime

BY JENNIFER BURTNER

FTER SPENDING MUCH OF THE PREVIOUS SIX YEARS TRAVELing through Guatemala, photographer and writer Jean-Marie Simon published *Guatemala: Eternal Spring, Eternal Tyranny* (1987). This book was intended to illustrate the daily reality of contemporary Guatemala to an international, primarily North American, audience. Simon begins by juxtaposing, what are among Guatemalans and Guatemala analysts, familiar phrases—the combination of which points to the underlying "Truth" and tragic irony of the story she is to tell.

In the 1800s a European visitor called Guatemala the "land of eternal spring." A century later, Guatemalan essayist and politician Manuel Galich called his country the "land of eternal tyranny." For a few, Guatemala is paradise. For most, it is not.

Throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s, the glossy oversized cover of Simon's book beaconed us from our overstuffed chairs in our living rooms to spend a lazy hour thumbing through what seemed to be a beautifully illustrated travelogue of exotic adventures in far away places. But this unconventional coffee table book provided no such relief. Fifteen years later, it still does not. Once the cover is lifted, the reader is shocked to find that they have not embarked on a trip to a Latin American Shangri La, but have plunged into Central America's killing fields. Using written narrative and visual images, Simon guides her audience through the rugged sociopolitical landscape of Guatemala during the 1960s, '70s and '80s.

While it did attempt to make its reader stop and pay attention, the goal of Simon's book was not to create a sense of paralysis. Indeed, it was quite the opposite. It was a call to conscious and action - one of many that had gone out during the previous ten years seeking to build international solidarity with Guatemala. Like many tours, its objective was to expose its armchair participants to the unknown, provide sufficient information to help them interpret what they are seeing, and in so doing transform them. Both in form and content Simon simulates this process, all the while delivering a crucial message: As physical, material and brutal as it has been, Guatemala's conflict has not just been a war between people of different ethnicities and classes, fighting for access to basic resources such as land. It has

been a bitter global struggle over ideologies, information, images, and the frames through which to interpret them, involving both coercive and non-coercive methods. Therefore, to be successfully resolved, the conflict must be dealt with at many levels, on many fronts, using both conventional and non-conventional weapons.

SELLING BEAUTY AND PLEASURE IN THE LAND OF ETERNAL TYRANNY

By the late 1980s, when *Guatemala: Eternal Spring, Eternal Tyranny* was published, juxtapositions of extremes and of "images" vs. "Reality" had become standard tools in Guatemala solidarity work, as had boycotts. Throughout the 1970s, international human rights campaigns had been working to establish alternative frames of reference for analysis. They sought to leverage the power of international markets through economic support measures, embargos, and boycotts. These tactics had become accepted non-military intervention strategies—used by both the right and the left—to shift the policies of foreign governments and commercial sectors.

In 1979, the International Union of Food and Allied Workers (UNI), an international body comprising 160 national unions of food workers in hotels, restaurants, cafeterias, and travel agencies in 59 countries, decided to utilize these strategies and go a step further. On December 6th, the UNI called for a tourism boycott of Guatemala based upon human rights violations perpetrated by the government against its citizens. Its decision to target the tourism industry was strategic in that it attacked one of the few sectors with-

in Guatemala that was still growing: from 1975 to 1979 the number of tourist coming into Guatemala rose steadily, if modestly, from 454,436 to 503,908. It was unique in that it pushed international consumers to question travel as an individual right and abstract ideas, such as beauty/pleasure, horror/pain and the right to them or to be free from them.

The UNI's call to boycott tourism to Guatemala had a catalytic effect in mobilizing the Guatemala international solidarity movement. It expanded the network by leveraging its bargaining power as an international union, inviting member countries to join them in dissuading potential tourists. Both in agreement and to avoid labor conflict, many European travel agencies joined them. Nonindustry linked Guatemala solidarity committees in the U.S. (i.e., Guatemalan Solidarity Network, Guatemalan News and Information Bureau) and Europe were soon to follow, distributing posters, public advertisements and bumper stickers with headings "Protect Human Rights, Don't Visit Guatemala". Larger human rights organizations, such as Amnesty International, published special reports on human rights violations in Guatemala, and sponsored public information campaigns including brochures and news bulletins, providing local committees and news agencies with the official documentation necessary to back their claims. By 1980, news coverage of the political situation had increased in the U.S and overseas.

As the boycott gained support and reports of the repression under General Romeo Lucas García (1978-1982) increased, the number of tourists traveling to Guatemala plummeted. In 1980, the



Opposite page: young girl lifting coffee in orange grove, Jocotenango, Sacatepéquez; above: Ixil schoolgirl on Independence Day, Nebaj, Quiche



Brochure cover featuring Lake Atitlán

number entering the country dropped below 1975 levels. The industry continued to suffer through 1981, during which tourism decreased 55%. By 1980-81, hotel occupancy rates had fallen to 43%, a significant drop from the 70% maintained for the same period in 1979-80, and the 80% it averaged in 1970. Unable to continue paying maintenance costs without income, many related businesses fell into debt, laid off workers or closed their doors—some temporarily, others permanently.

To counter the IUF tourism boycott, subsequent U.S. State Department travel advisories and ongoing international advocacy,

The tourism boycott sought to keep the image of indigenous Guatemalans in the public eye.

numerous members of the Guatemalan government and the national tourism industry, public and private, responded with their own campaign denying that tourists were unsafe. While admitting the country's difficulties at the time, these pro-government advocates pointed out that Guatemala had socio-political problems no worse than Ireland, Italy, or the Middle East. They charged that they were being unfairly singled out for U.S. scrutiny, as was the U.S.'s historical tendency in dealing with its southern neighbors. The importance of Guatemala's national sovereignty was invoked, as was the ECLA era Latin American critique of U.S.'s inability to support its neighbors when they were dealing with internal crises and factionalism. A number of these communications recommended that foreign advocates focus on the bountiful social injustices of their own governments and social systems and leave Guatemalans to the job of caring for their own people. The international left paused in shock as they watched Guatemala's right appropriate many of its anti- and post-colonial arguments. Negations of clear human rights abuses, however, overshadowed whatever historical veracity these other claims held and resulted in even stronger international support for sanctions.

As the income from tourism, which had been one of the coun-

try's leading industries, slowed to a trickle, industry agencies recognized that they must, in order to survive, find new economic strategies to fight the boycott. At the 1981 National Convention of Hotel Owners in Quetzaltenango, private and public agencies sought a sector-wide solution, appealing to the government for aid in promoting Guatemalan tourism abroad. Due to lack of national funds and the pressing priorities of the war, few of these plans progressed beyond the inquiry stage. Frustrated and struggling to regain some of its lost foreign market, the Insti-Guatemalteco de Turismo (INGUAT), in 1981, agreed to pay New York public relations firm Needham and Grohmann U.S.\$1.5 million to launch an international campaign to counter the boycott. The agency had little success. In 1982 the industry generated only

U.S.\$60 million, significantly lower than the pre-boycott U.S.\$132.4 million it grossed in 1979.

Despite continued efforts by international organizations to curb human rights violations and by the Guatemalan government to convince the international public that Guatemala was safe, little changed during the administrations of Generals Efraín Ríos Montt (1982-83) and Oscar Humberto Mejía Victores (1983-85). It was not until 1985, when the increasingly isolated Mejía Victores government conceded to hold elections, that the stalemate was broken. With the promise of a "return to democracy" and the inauguration of

civilian president Vinicio Cerezo in 1986, solidarity organizations and the international media relaxed the campaign and allowed the effects of the boycott to subside. Results were rapid: In 1986, totals increased by 14%; in

1987 they rose another 23%. By this time however, the Guatemalan industry had turned its attention away from the U.S. and begun pursuing more elite European markets, Italy and Germany being the two largest, neither of which, incidentally, had issued travel warnings during the previous years.

CREATING A "COLORFUL AND FRIENDLY" GUATEMALA AND AN ALTERNATIVE MUNDO MAYA

Much of the post-Peace Accords work in Guatemala today focuses on the documentation of human rights abuses. Even during times of relative peace, this is a difficult job. Fighting against silence, over competing memories, indigenous and ladino leaders work with national and international human rights commissions to define the way Guatemalan history will be written and remembered. Participants are aware that the narratives they are constructing will play a critical role in defining their county's future. As painful and traumatic as revisiting the past is, what scares survivors most is the idea that it could be forgotten. In this context, the images and texts featured in glossy tourism brochures represent much more than pleasure-seeking apolitical escapism. They are guides to understanding highly politicized power relations and the testing ground

for alternative national landscapes.

During the 1970s and 1980s, when the war raged in the highlands, tourism brochures offered a space where the state could successfully pacify the Other. Despite the increased coverage of political violence, the collapse of internal markets, and the government's growing isolation, attractive brochures similar to those printed in the early 1970s continued to be produced, inviting tourists to visit this "peaceful country." It was during this conflictive period that "Colorful and Friendly" Guatemala became the central building block of INGUAT's ethnic tourism campaign, a marketing tag that would last well into the late 1990s. Visual representations of smiling men, women and children dressed in "traditional" traje decorated brochure covers, complementing condensed histories of "the Maya," descriptions of what they eat, wear, speak and other details about their "fascinating" and "mysterious" way of life. Purged of all signs of profanity, disorder, chaos and aggression (misery and poverty) that signify the anxiety-provoking "bad other," these images

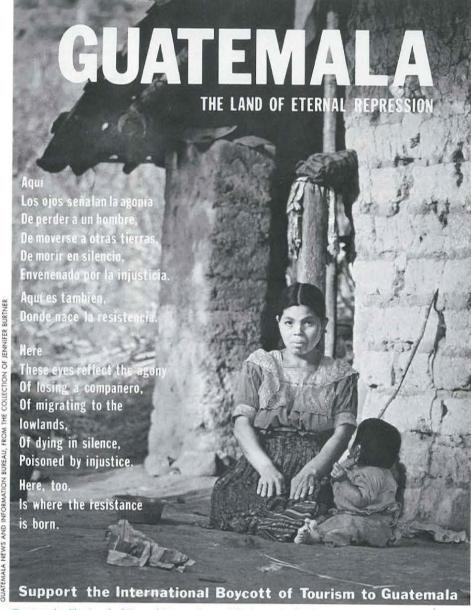
were homogenous enough to be placed into the category of Indian (natural, timeless, geographically remote, mysterious), yet heterogenous enough to still be interesting (regional uniqueness). In these texts, cultural pluralism and peaceful coexistence take the place of ethnocracy, genocide and civil war, and happy female petty commodity producers replace the angry "subversive" male rural guerrillas portrayed by the military. Thousands of years of conquests and ideological conflict disappear in the bustling activity and productive exchange of the age-old highland marketplace. These were the state's reassuring images of immediate post-Cold War Central America, but they would not last.

By 1986, the Guatemalan tourism industry had already begun to show signs of change, adapting travel packages to of change, adapting travel packages "alternative" tourism, the industry's are response to the recent growing consciousness about the world's social and environmental problems. In Guatemala, these alternative packages took the form of "soft-foot" and "ecotourism" projects such as the Mundo Maya. In 1990 Alberto Rivera, one of the first INGUAT consultants to the Mundo Maya, explained that while pictures of smiling indigenous people in traje commonly seen in earlier promotions were still necessary, they were no longer sufficient. The program plans for the Mundo Maya would produce a new kind of tourism for Guatemala based on the creation of more individualized, "unique" and "authentic" experiences for greater numbers of wealthier tourists. Two years later, the indigenous people who had been featured on brochure covers and

posters were just one of the sights/sites in a rapidly expanding panorama of national attractions such as nature reserves and recently restored archeological sites.

Yet, one of the goals of the tourism boycott had been to keep the image of indigenous Guatemalans in the public eye and in that way to keep the Guatemalan State accountable. As the gaze of the international human rights community shifts to struggles in other countries, the risk for indigenous Guatemalans is not misrepresentation (the "images" vs. "Reality"), but total erasure. "My fear," confided Alberto Gómez Davis, the then-director of INGUAT's *Patrimonio Cultural*, "is that we are just preparing for the next time it happens. Only, this way, afterwards there will be *no* need for Indians."

Jennifer Burtner is the Brazilian Studies Coordinator at DRCLAS. From 1988-1994 she worked in Guatemala with international, national and regional development initiatives, studying the relationship between planning institutions and beneficiary communities.



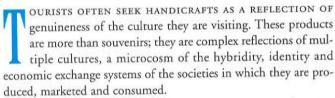
Guatemala: The Land of Eternal Repression, solidarity poster for boycott

LOOKING AT TOURISM



"No Pertenece a Ningún Pueblo"

Crafts in the Guatemalan highlands



During the 1960s and '70s, indigenous women weavers from San Juan La Laguna, Sololá (Guatemalan central highlands) began crossing Lake Atitlán to the tourist community of Panajachel, becoming marketers for the community's surplus production. This integration into the international tourism market has generated tremendous social, economic, cultural, and aesthetic changes. As regional tourism and foreign demand for indigenous handmade goods grew, division of labor increased, and the production teams of mothers, daughters, and grandmothers expanded to incorporate religious and fictive kin relations. Within a generation, a full-scale cottage industry emerged with differentiations between marketers and weavers, marked by language skills, access to primary capital, family membership, age, and the ability and willingness to travel. By the late 1980s, weaving for international consumers was commonplace, with more than half of all indigenous women living in Guatemala's western highlands producing textiles for tourist or export markets.

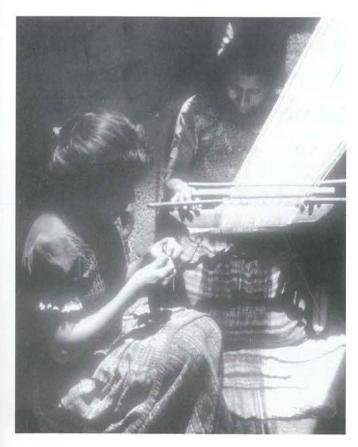
Tourists and exporters influence the goods produced through what they buy and order. However, many stylistic creations are not the work solely of foreign designers, but the result of intercultural cycles of innovation and adaptation. These feedback systems have produced many hybrid forms, such as the *huipil Juaneras* (women from San Juan) created specifically for foreigners. Unlike



the earlier huipiles (embroidered blouses) that identified the wearer's home community (as well as their age, gender, and economic status), this hybrid "no pertenece a ningún pueblo" (doesn't belong to any town/people). An integration of stylistic elements from different towns (hand-woven lienzos copied from Zunil; embroidery modeled after the cofradía sobrehuipiles from Sololá), these pieces try to appeal to foreigners' cultural beliefs, aesthetic preferences, and wallets. All "natural" 100% cotton fibers and dyes replace the synthetic colorfast yarn used by contemporary indigenous peoples. Muted earth tones and pastels replace the region's bright reds. Simpler patterns and looser weaves requiring less time and materials lower costs. One local account has it that the huipil was created when a merchant "Juanera" who traveled throughout the country during the 1950s and '60s purchasing antigüidades for foreign exporters, presented her design to her foreign patrona. The patrona liked it, made modifications, and began exporting. It was copied by distributors in Panajachel and Antigua until the late 1980s when the market became saturated and prices began to drop.

As international market tastes turned towards more "authentic" goods in the early 1990s and tourists made increasing offers to buy the huipils displayed not on the rack but on the marketers' backs, Juaneras decided to begin selling their own huipils. At first they sold the few older pieces they still owned, then those made for special occasions but rarely worn. By 1991, rows of red San Juan huipils lined the racks of the roadside marketing stalls in Panajachel and young Juanera donned the cheaper surplus/seconds hybrids their mothers had woven for tourists and exporters, but were unable to sell. —Jennifer Burtner











Opposite page, left: braiding bracelets; right: 13-year-old Hilda watches Carlota weaving; this page, clockwise from top left: mother and daughter weaving in alcove of house; Hilda models tourist huipil over everyday blouse; men often act as negotiators in the marketplace, especially with wholesalers; women tend roadside stands

The Legacy of Human Rights

Touring Chile's Past

BY NELL HADDOCK

OST TOURISTS TO CHILE ARE TEMPTED BY OPPORTUNITIES to see blue glaciers in Chile's Tierra del Fuego or sample wines in Chile's trendy vineyards. I also wanted to visit the National Stadium.

While working as an intern this summer at the U.S. Embassy in Santiago, I expressed to my Chilean host an interest in the stadium—the site of the majority of torture and executions after a military coup toppled Chile's elected president and established Augusto Pinochet as a dictator in 1973. Bewildered at my interest, my friend asked, "Why? It's just a plain soccer stadium."

I explained that I wanted to visit the stadium for its historical importance—since so many people had been killed there. She replied, "You must be confused. I don't think anyone was killed there. People were detained there since the prisons were full, but no one was killed." A co-worker acknowledged, "Well, I think some people were killed there, but not very many. More people died on the Titanic." In fact, 1,300 people died on the Titanic. More than 3,000 people were killed during Pinochet's rule, and about 400,000 were tortured. Though not all the murder and torture took place in the national stadium, the stadium was the nation's largest detention center; Red Cross International estimates that about 7,000 prisoners were detained there. Several weeks later as I returned home late one evening, my host looked up from her favorite Chilean soap opera and exclaimed to me, "You're right! I saw a special on TV today. People were killed in the stadium." Twenty-eight years after the fact she has just realized the extent of the atrocity that she lived through as a young bride.

As an American in Chile, I often found that, like my friend, many Chileans either didn't know or chose to forget the country's painful past. I set out to explore its human rights legacy. I discovered that

leftist-leaning Chileans fleeing after the 1973 coup opened museums around the world to which artists donated pieces to show their solidarity with Allende and his ideals with the idea of sending the artworks back to

Chile when democracy was restored. The Salvador Allende Solidarity Museum in Santiago is now an incredible art museum with Calder sculptures, Miró paintings, and works of artists painting during Pinochet's regime.

I visited La Moneda, where the coup took place, and the Plaza de Armas, where the first human rights resistance emerged. I took many pictures at former torture site Villa Grimaldi, now the Parque por la Paz. I strolled through the park, reading its plaques with poetic words remembering those killed there, and contemplating a sculpture dedicated to the victims. I soon found that I was not the only tourist in Chile intrigued by its human rights



In front of La Moneda

legacy. I learned about the Human Rights Legacy tour in my Lone-ly Planet: Santiago guide book.

Steve Anderson, the agency's founder, told me that the agency aims to "keep alive the memory of what really happened" during General Augusto Pinochet's seventeen-year military dictatorship.

The Chile Information Project (CHIP)tours seek to convince customers that torture and murder really did occur during Pinochet's regime and to impress upon them the atrocity of the crimes committed. CHIP's tour takes clients to Villa Grimaldi, to the presidential palace where the strafing from the military coup can still be seen on the building, and to the National Cemetery where Salvador Allende is buried. Though the sites are memorable, the tour offers little information that could not be gathered, even more dramatically and poignantly, from reading a survivor's testimony of

As an American in Chile, I often found that Chileans didn't know or chose to forget the past.

the atrocities or watching the Costa-Gavras movie *Missing*. Where the tour shines is in its visit to the Pinochet Foundation.

CHIP founder Anderson explains that he takes visitors to the foundation so that they can hear the arguments that Pinochet's most loyal fans make about Pinochet's achievements and the merit of his harsh reign and judge the events for themselves. He has no doubt that his clients will find the Pinochet Foundations's explanations "pathetic and unsatisfying." Visitors see a plaque that honors those who were killed by leftists, watch a black and white video of the chaos of the Allende regime, then watch a cheerful, color video of Pinochet's regime and all its accomplishments, and finally a repre-





sentative of the foundation discusses Pinochet's accomplishments.

Visitors need to understand this passionate loyalty that some Chileans have to Pinochet. Chile's view of Pinochet is not black and white. I arrived in Chile assuming that everyone would think as I did that Pinochet was the worst thing that had ever happened to Chile. But time and time again in my conversations with Chileans, my assumptions were refuted. Not all Chileans agree with the typical foreign depiction of Pinochet as a mass murderer. He is not all bad. Quite the contrary. To some Chileans—particularly the upper class—he is responsible for a lot of good. Not all Chileans regret his brutal seventeen-year dictatorship.

For me, CHIP's tour reconfirmed the sense of the complexity of Chilean political sentiments that I had gleaned from reading the mostly conservative Chilean newspapers and from having extensive political conversations with my host family and other social acquaintances. But for those who do not have a chance to live with a family or interact socially with Chileans, CHIP's Human Rights Legacy tour may be the only way to discover the extreme diversity of views about Pinochet and to get a sense of how this diversity affects daily life.

In any country whose past is tainted by tragedy, a historical memory tour that reminds visitors of the country's past is valuable so that the world never forgets the tragedy. In nearby Argentina, tourists follow the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, and Buenos Aires is constructing a Memory Park. In both countries, human rights legacy is still very much in the news. Since a Chilean court of appeals declared Pinochet unfit to stand trial due to dementia, Chileans have tracked his various illnesses including diabetes, strokes, hypertension, circulatory problems, and, most recently, toothaches. Every day, Chilean papers describe the latest developments as Joyce Horman, whose husband, Charles, disappeared in Chile during the first

days of Pinochet's dictatorship, fights to bring Pinochet to trial.

For an American student from Harvard University, being an intern during the week and a tourist on the weekends created an unexpected cultural confusion. Informal and formal human rights legacy touring helped me determine what I wanted to think about Chile's past. Many Chileans I met attribute their wealth and comfort entirely to Pinochet. They remember the violence and unpredictability of the Allende years—never knowing when the power would go out, when the food would run out, when their homes would be looted or their businesses seized. Pinochet put an end to this upheaval. Above all, he restored order. Those who heap the loftiest praise on Pinochet often admit that he killed many people but insist that such killings were necessary. "What was most important was that he restored order. He had to kill those people. What else could he do? They would have disrupted society. You would have done the same," my Chilean host explained to me.

During my stay in Chile I was invited to the most elegant and extraordinary wedding I have ever attended. The dinner-dance after the wedding was held in a huge tent in the countryside with 600 invitees. Though pleased with the fantastic turnout for the wedding, the bride's parents seemed put out that Pinochet had neither turned up to celebrate their daughter's marriage with them nor responded to their invitation with his regrets. Their grumbling amazed me.

To say that views about Pinochet divide families and determine friendships may be a bit of an overstatement, as friendships certainly can transcend the bounds of political ideologies. But disagreement on such a significant, defining subject undoubtedly strains relationships. I had the opportunity to discover this on my own, since working at the embassy and living with a family gave the time and contacts I needed to begin to understand my host society. However, short-term tourists often need a helping hand to understand the legacy of human rights—thus the need for an organized tour.

CHIP day tours could not, and does not intend to, fully illuminate the complexity of political sentiments in Chile. But the tour is an ideal starting point for anyone desiring insight into Chilean culture, providing a variety of perspectives on Chile's political history. The tour doesn't visit the National Stadium though.

The stadium can only be entered for ticketed events. Anderson later told me there's a plaque inside honoring those who were tortured and murdered there. I saw it briefly one day when my host, who treated me like a daughter the entire summer, detoured from our route to show me the stadium. At that time, she still didn't think that the stadium had any historical significance, but since I wanted to see it, she was willing to drive by.

Perhaps some day I will return to the stadium with my Chilean host for a concert or a soccer game, and I will share with her the human rights legacy I learned about as a tourist.

Nell Haddock, a junior government concentrator from Arizona, spent the summer in Santiago, Chile, with a DRCLAS internship grant, working as an intern in the consular section of the U.S. embassy, skiing in the Andes, browsing local markets, reading Pablo Neruda's poetry, and acquiring a rich vocabulary of Chilean slang that has made her Spanish practically unintelligible to non-Chileans. Addicted to foreign travel and Chilean sea bass, Nell hopes to return to Chile soon to travel the austral trail to the Tierra del Fuego.

Tricks of the Trade

Sex Tourism in Latin America

BY ANN BARGER HANNUM

a lengthy and sometimes colorful history with that of adventure travel and tourism in general. Literature investigating early travel involving sexual encounters includes stories dating to explorations by Columbus in the 15th century. Considerable research supports the theory that, along with potatoes, tobacco, and other commodities, Columbus and his crew also brought the first cases of syphilis to the New World. Among other early journeys abroad that were enhanced by sexual revelries were the "Grand Tours," trips taken across Europe by young aristocratic men and women during the 18th and 19th centuries in order to broaden their understanding of culture and the arts. These adventurous young people often supplemented their cultural experience with that of a sexual nature through liaisons with people they met while traveling.

When travel opportunities opened up to a growing segment of the middle class in the mid-19th century, including that of the United States, sex tourism evolved into a common activity. As many European countries became wealthier, clients expanded their search for sex into other regions, such as the Caribbean and northern Africa, where prices for sex were more moderate. The growth of sex tourism has also had a strong correlation with military conquest and the presence of foreign military bases. Prostitution pro-

liferated near British military bases worldwide during the latter part of the 18th century and emerged more recently near US military bases in Korea, the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam, establishing these

areas as preferred destinations for sex. In the 1940s and 1950s, Cuba was the destination of large numbers of American male sex tourists. Prostitution became illegal after the revolution but started to flourish again in the 1990s, when economic conditions forced Castro to reopen the tourism industry.

The expansion of sex tourism has continued unabated, in part as a result of the promotion of tourism as a development strategy, particularly in the developing world, where poverty forces people into sex work. Resource-scarce regions, including many Latin American countries, where tourism has experienced considerable support from the government, have proven to be fertile areas for the growth of sex tourism. Until the tragic events of September 11, tourism had been increasing steadily worldwide, with Latin American countries among those enjoying rising figures. The World Tourism Organization (WTO) reports that the total number of visitors to Latin America and the Caribbean grew by 6.1 percent last year to 57.6 million. Research indicates that as countries such as Guatemala, El Salvador, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua have increased efforts to promote tourism on a wide scale, sex tourism has risen proportionately.

Today, sex tourism is a multibillion dollar industry that supports an international workforce estimated to number in the millions. Because prostitution is illegal in most countries, exact sta-



tistics about sex workers, their international clients, and the money generated within the industry itself are unavailable. Employees benefiting from the sex tourism industry include female and male sex workers as well as—directly or indirectly—members of the entire travel and tourism sectors, from taxi drivers to airline, hotel, and restaurant employees. Sex tourism most commonly involves female prostitution, but, most disturbingly, increasingly involves the sexual exploitation of children, which is outlawed universally. Whether sex tourism among consenting adults is a "victimless crime" remains a point of contention. Excluding some "escorts" working for elite agencies and high wages, sex workers almost always suffer from poverty, marginalization, violence, disease, and sexual and substance abuse.

Sex tourism is increasing worldwide, but particularly in Latin American, especially in Central America. In part, the shift in des-

The expansion of sex tourism has continued unabated, particularly where poverty forces people into sex work.

tinations can be attributed to the crackdown in Asia by organizations such as the WTO, End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes (ECPAT), and the United Nations. Sex tourism—especially that involving exploitation of children—sought areas where laws are less restrictive and government surveillance less diligent.

Brazil has long been thought of as the region's leader in sex tourism, but recent evidence highlights emerging business in Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Honduras. Julia O'Connell Davidson, one of the most knowledgeable experts on the subject of sex tourism, cites a 1994 study estimating that more than 30,000 Americans and several thousand more Canadians had retired to Costa Rica. Many of the single men among them were described as "sex-pats," expatriates who retired there not just for the climate, tax breaks, and other advantages but also for the "easy and cheap sexual access to their preferred sexual objects." "What we are seeing is the dark side of tourism," said Heimo Laakkonen, head of UNICEF in Costa Rica, where tourism is the most profitable industry in the country.

While views of sex-for-sale between consenting adults vary considerably, the arena of child sex tourism is disturbing to all. ECPAT estimates that more than one million children worldwide enter the sex trade annually, many of them from Latin American coun-

TOURISM: HISTORY, CULTURE, AND IDENTITY





Opposite page and above left: Casa Alianza works with street children/sex workers in Central America; above right: a Cuban street scene

tries. The organization estimated, for example, that in 1994, 500,000 children in Brazil were involved in the sex industry, and more recently, the Colombian Ministry of Justice reported at least 25,000 child prostitutes in that country. The UN Human Rights Committee recently expressed concern over the "high incidence of commercial sexual exploitation of children in Costa Rica related to tourism". Casa Alianza, a non-profit advocacy group for street children in Mexico and Central America, estimates that some 5,000 street children in Honduras are involved in sex tourism. Similar problems exist in Paraguay, the Dominican Republic, and Venezuela.

The reasons for the growth in the child sex tourism trade in Latin America and elsewhere are numerous and often mirror those in the adult sex tourism industry. According to the Preda Foundation, prostitution among the estimated 40 million street children in Latin America has long been a consequence of the region's poverty. A recent study of 300 street children by Nicaragua's Family Ministry revealed that more than 80 percent of them had started working as prostitutes that year to support themselves and to buy drugs. Typically, many thousands of these children have fled abusive homes.

The increase in the child sex trade is also commonly attributed to the mistaken impression that younger sex workers are less likely to be infected with sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV or AIDS, although figures often dispute this belief.

Another possible reason for the rise in child sex tourism is that clients often feel less inhibited outside the constraints of their home countries and may be attracted by what they feel to be less restrictive social taboos in other countries. Like their adult counterparts, child sex workers are also frequently lured into the trade by advertisements for lucrative jobs, travel, and an exciting lifestyle.

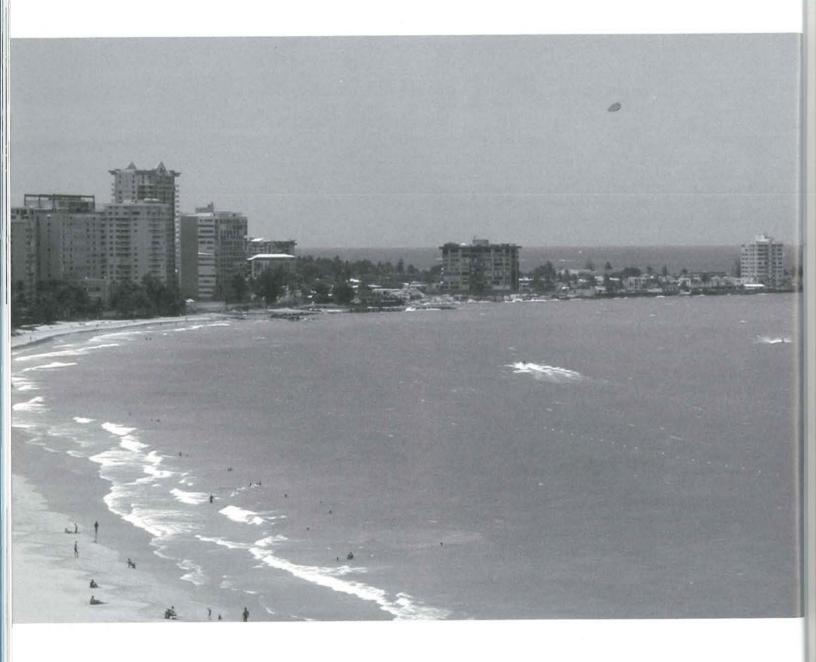
One of the greatest boosts to sex tourism overall has been the availability of information on the Internet related to the sex industry. Some Web sites are accessible to the general public, while others, such as the World Sex Archives Web page, require membership and dues to access their database of photos and bulletin boards of

messages from other sex tourists. Child pornography and prostitution of any kind are illegal on the Internet, and international efforts to shut down related Web sites have been reasonably successful. However, lawmakers have been unable to agree on whether and how to prohibit the advertisement of adult sex tours, especially since prostitution is legal in many countries, such as Costa Rica.

Since the 1990s, ECPAT and other members of the nongovernmental, governmental, and private sectors worldwide have been collaborating to raise awareness about sex tourism and to take steps toward eradicating child sex tourism. These groups have initiated campaigns that include the use of luggage tags, ticket pouches, and educational brochures, along with the development of courses in tourism training schools and in-flight videos. In 1997, Brazil launched a "No Child Sex Tourism" campaign, since adopted by the WTO, to curtail sex tourism and enforce laws imposing jail sentences on foreigners caught purchasing sex from children. In January 2000, Mexico enacted an amendment of the federal penal code and code procedures that declared sex tourism to be a punishable crime.

Latin American countries share with others in the international community the enormous and complex challenges posed by the growing sex tourism industry. Even if they are united in their determination to eliminate all forms of exploitation of children, countries nevertheless need to agree on more effective and expedient means of regulating the entire sex tourism industry. Sex tourism among adults remains a complex topic involving issues of privacy, consent, religious and ethical beliefs, and human rights. Only through international cooperation can the sex tourism industry be regulated successfully and millions of children be protected against exploitation.

Ann Barger Hannum, project manager and consultant, has been affiliated with Harvard for the past ten years, most recently at he Harvard AIDS Institute. The author thanks Julia M. Green, project associate for the Community Research Initiative of New England, for her collaboration with this article.



Puerto Rico's Tourism

Myths and Realities

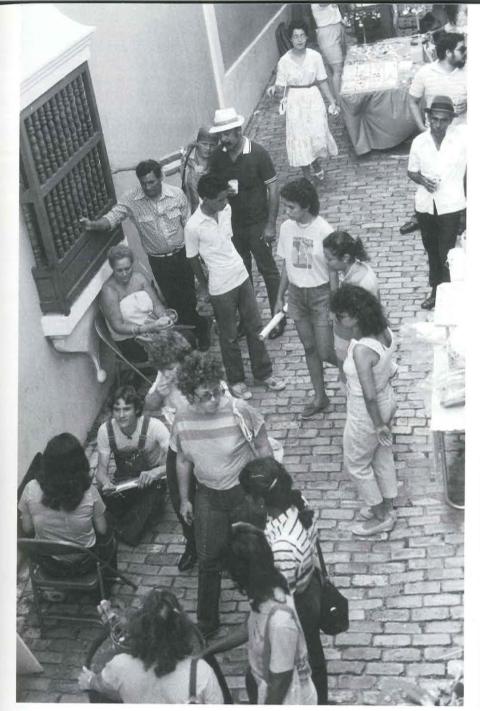
TEXTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANGEL A. AMY MORENO

might consider Puerto Rico's first tourist, was mesmerized by the island—its climate, its beauty, and yes, its resources, from whence it got its name "rich port." It was the gem of the Spanish colonial empire until 1898 when the Spanish-American War resulted in the dissolution of the Spanish

empire. Cuba and Puerto Rico, along with other Caribbean islands, were ceded to the United States, and soon after Puerto Rico officially became recognized as an American territory. Puerto Rico, however, has never allowed itself to be completely indoctrinated into the U.S. Puerto Rico's own constitution was created in 1952, creating the *Estado Libre*

Asociado de Puerto Rico (Commonwealth of Puerto Rico).

With U.S. tourism to fuel its economy, the road was paved for what is often referred to as the socioeconomic transformation of Puerto Rico. Beginning in the 1950s, American companies were drawn to the island for its tax incentives, while masses of



The Puerto Rican tourism industry represents \$5 billion out of \$45 billion GNP. Tourists are attracted to its many beaches (opposite) and its historical sites in old San Juan (left and below).



tourists flocked to white sandy beaches and vibrant culture. Meanwhile, Puerto Ricans reveled in the newfound capitalism that came hand-in-hand with tourism.

Puerto Rico's economic well being, however, was perhaps too intertwined with the American economy—when the U.S. economy faltered, the Puerto Rican one followed suit. Successive recessions drove American industries to leave Puerto Rico in search of business opportunities elsewhere, and luxury hotels, forced to shut their doors, dragged local retailers and vendors down with them.

Puerto Rico's economic dependence on the U.S. has led to much criticism. Some believe that the Commonwealth has relied too heavily on the foreign tourist industry, ignoring the potential for domestic tourism trade. Others believe that the Puerto Rican tourism industry has simply overlooked an entire market of moderate-income tourists from all over the world.

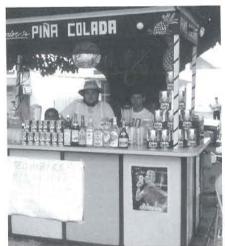
In response to the critics, for the first time, low to moderate cost hotels are under construction. The governor has gone so far as to propose luring American tourists to the island by giving away free airline tickets.

For now, the few tourists who are visiting Puerto Rico seem to be keeping their wallets in their pockets. It would seem people are still drawn to the island for it majestic architecture and gorgeous beaches, rather than knick-knacks and souvenirs. If only Puerto Rico's economic well being were as unwavering as its picturesque beauty.

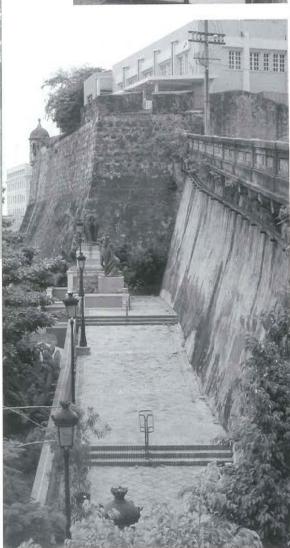
Angel A. Amy Moreno, Ed.D., Ph.D. is the chair of the Department of Social Sciences at Roxbury Community College. He is also Visiting Professor of Latin American History at Northeastern University and a Fine Art Photographer. His photo exhibit entitled "A Bridge Over an Ocean: San Juan - Boston, 1975 to 2001" will be displayed at the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico Affairs Office in Boston until November 30, 2002.

LOOKING AT TOURISM

Clockwise: three Puerto Rican boys in a folklore troupe; old San Juan; fortress; piña colada refreshment stand; opposite page, clockwise: eggs and croquettes for sale; tourists enjoy drummers; a historical site

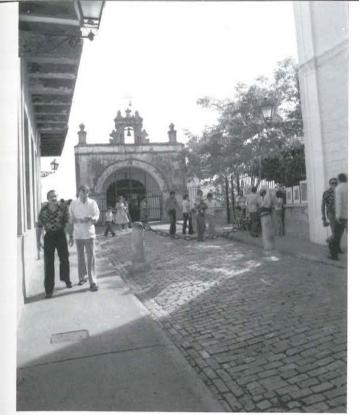








64 Revista WINTER 2002









City, Tourism, and Preservation

The Old Havana Way

BY MARIO COYULA

Memory is redundant: it repeats signs so that the city can begin to exist. Italo Calvino, Invisible Cities

AVANA, THE GRACIOUS ANTILLEAN metropolis opening into the straits of Florida, has grown at a very slow pace compared to most other major Latin American cities. Its heritage, found in the nooks and crannies of old tenements and office buildings, benefited from the benign neglect of the 1959 revolution, which concentrated its efforts on the undeveloped countryside. Although these policies increased deterioration and overcrowding in the capital city, demolitions driven by real estate speculation did not do away with its multi-faceted layers of architectural history, as in other Latin American cities. Tourists are now drawn to the historical buildings and the anachronistic nature of the city, as they wander and remark on the old cars lining the streets and the architectural gems found on every street corner, ranging from examples of colonial to Art Deco to modernism.

As Cuba began to think more about tourism as a source of revenue in the 1990s, new dollar-oriented programs resulted in hotels and condos for foreigners. The majority of those buildings followed bland, banal designs meant to please customers seeking a "tropical" architecture, but a few good ones started to appear at the turn of millennia. This still early trend addresses the goal of bringing back architecture into the realm of culture—an issue that received unanimous support during the seminal 6th Congress of the Cuban National Union of Writers and Artists (UNEAC) in 1998, which debated

The Bacardi building, Art Deco in old Havana

the subject for an entire session.

The challenge now is to balance city, tourism, and preservation. The city's built stock includes a very large, valuable architectural heritage. The colonial period, from 1519 to 1898, includes the first fort (La Fuerza, 1577) and aqueduct (Zanja Real, 1592) made by Europeans in America; pre-Baroque buildings from the 1600s with a strong mudéjar (Spanish Moorish) influence are best represented by the Santa Clara nunnery; a sober Baroque period, from the late 1700s and early 1800s, has the facade of Havana's cathedral as its landmark; some neogothic and great neoclassical villas were mostly built beyond the old walled precinct around the mid-1800s. The original 354 acrecore known as Old Havana, a peninsula protruding into the bay, was designated World Heritage by UNESCO in 1982, together with the 19th century expansion in the ring formerly occupied by the walls, and the most impressive colonial defensive system in America, including the largest fortress, La Cabaña (1774), Atarés (1767), and El Príncipe (1779)—all built after Spain recovered Havana from the English in 1763.

This substantial colonial heritage is almost overwhelmed, however, by a stock of 20th century buildings that include a short period of Art Nouveau-with a strong influence of Catalan Modernisme-in the first decade, followed by an ubiquitous eclectic architecture from 1910 to the early 1930s that included everything from upper-class mansions and great public buildings like the Presidential Palace or the Capitol, to lower/middle and working-class dwellings. In fact, eclectic architecture accounts for the largest part of the built stock in the central districts of Havana and in most other Cuban cities. There is also a large stock of Art Deco, embodied by the outstanding Bacardí building (1930)-Havana's equivalent to the Chrysler building—followed by a short Modern Monumental period in the early 1940s, limited to public buildings.

The second relevant construction boom in Havana—comparable to the *fat cows* period fueled by the sudden rise in the price of sugar because of the first World War—came after the second World War, with a quick spread of architecture from the Modern movement. It was also the time when large suburban expansion occurred, with dozens of new subdivisions or *repartos*. Modern architecture continued its dominance into the

1960s after the revolution came to power, with some relevant building compounds like the Cubacan's Schools of Arts, CUJAE and Habana del Este. Together, this relevant heritage covers more than 5,000 acres under landmark protection. Prefabrication and mass-produced social housing took command afterwards, leaving little room for good design, except in some special works placed mostly at the periphery and therefore contributing little to the city's image.

For a short period in the 1980s, young architects experimented with postmodernism, which was already fading abroad. Cuban art historian Graziella Pogolotti observed that Cuba is a port, and this shows in the blend of foreign influences—well-digested or not—that have stamped themselves on Cuban culture over time. These influences were Spanish (including Spanish-Moorish), French, and

more rooms are in private residences renting to foreigners; this figure is the equivalent of 12 to 15 new hotels, but it only accounts for those rooms registered and paying taxes, so the actual figure is likely to be at least twice that. In 2000, tourism grew nationally only 9-10%—less than the average 18.6% of the last five years-because of the devaluation of the Euro against the dollar and the rise in the price of airfare. Nonetheless, there were five times as many tourists than in 1989, and 61% of the products consumed were made in Cuba, but the cost increased four cents for each dollar earned, according to a December 2000 presentation to the Cuban National Assembly.

Contrary to conventional wisdom, Cuba has made city tourism its first priority, while beach and sun are second. Other sorts of tourism like rural expeditions, horseriding,

Tourists are drawn to the historical buildings and the anachronistic nature of the city.

finally American. Immigrants from West Africa and China, brought as slaves or semi-slaves, left a strong imprint on Cuban culture, but did not directly influence its built environment. Forty years of strong economic and political ties to the Soviet Union and Eastern European socialist bloc left behind a surprisingly weak influence on the built environment, mainly found in the heavy-panel prefabricated technology for housing tracts, and the now aging Russian-made cars that compete with the American vintage ones from the 1950s.

ECONOMY AND TOURISM AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 21ST CENTURY

As with many other countries in the global South, tourism represents for Cuba the main source of hard currency coming from the North. Tourism increased from 2,000 tourists in 1967 to 1.4 million in 1998. Havana is a major destination: 55.1% of all tourists visit the city and contribute 26% of all the national dollar revenue from tourism. Tourists spend more than twice as much money in Havana than the national average (GDIC 2000). The capital city has a strong cultural and social appeal, but it also offers more than five miles of fine beaches only 20 minutes east from the center. Havana's total capacity was 10,700 rooms (of the 31,600 nationwide) in early 2000. About 4,500

bird-watching, bicycling, or hiking are still not adequately promoted, taking little advantage of amazing natural resources. The rise of Cuba as an attractive tourist destination has worried other Caribbean countries. Rather than competition, however, coordination may prove to be helpful since the proximity of these island countries permits multiple-destinations for tourists from far away, which would ultimately be more profitable to all the islands.

Immediately after the terrorist attacks on September 11 last year, the flow of tourists to Cuba dropped, as happened all around the world. In a press conference on October 20, 2001 (Mayoral 2001) the Minister of Tourism, Ibrahim Ferradaz, addressed the extended concerns about the fate of tourism, now standing with sugar as the main source of badly-needed hard currency income. The number of night stays decreased by 5% compared to September 2000, while a 10% growth had been formerly expected. But by October 1, 2001, there were 2,100 more tourists than on the same date in 2000. Tourism from Canada, which led the Cuban market in 2001, grew during September and is expected to improve during the "high" season in winter. Cuba is considered a very safe destination for tourists-something especially attractive at the moment-and foreign partners with their own market networks manage 50% of the total amount of rooms. Nevertheless, the 2 million-tourist goal for 2001 will not be achieved, and the expected growth of 12.7% will fall to 5-7%. The most affected destinations are presently Havana and Varadero, while Pinar del Río, Trinidad, and the Jardines del Rey keys have slightly improved. To cut costs, the Ministry closed 20 hotels including Capri and Trópico in Havana, using this opportunity to repair some of them. Other hotels like Habana Libre, Cohiba, and Riviera in Havana closed some floors. Tourism is a very vulnerable industry, and its future depends to a large extent on whether terrorist attacks continue or not, and on the evolution of the war in the Middle East against a faceless, ubiquitous enemy who-like Poe's Red Death—is already inside.

TOURISM AND ENVIRONMENT

Tourism has often been compared to a locomotive hauling economic development, but it may also turn into a destruction machine of the natural, the built, and the social environment. Ecological balance is especially vulnerable in small island countries, and even if Cuba is by far the largest island in the Caribbean, it is composed of many well-defined but small ecosystems that can be easily ruined in an irreversible way. One of the major poles for sun and sand tourism now being developed, Jardines del Rey, which covers a strip more than 200 miles long with 2,517 islands along the northern coast of central Cuba.

The quick flow of investments into the many wild beaches and keys of the Cuban archipelago has started to affect biodiversity. This calls for a long-term approach to development, one that will not kill the source of profits itself. Inappropriate technologies and building materials and excessive alterations on the terrain are associated with construction projects that are visually jarring with the surroundings. Banal architectural designs, often imported from abroad by the foreign investor or blandly copied by Cuban designers, usually lack a national and local identity and do not take advantage of the climate. Negative impacts on the environment affect the habitat for the local fauna and vegetation, alter the natural topography, introduce exotic plants, change the shape and character of the local landscape, or destroy wetlands and sand dunes through building in the frail strip where sea and land interact.

Ouarries and excessive deforestation to clear land for hotel sites and their surrounding installations disturb ecological balance, as does the construction of airports and roads (pedraplenes) which connect the main island with the keys, often blocking the natural recirculation of seawater. Inappropriate wastewater treatment or the filling of lagoons adds to the ecological threats. Sustainable approaches, such as low-consumption designs that preserve energy and water and use natural ventilation and lighting, are only experimentally used. Ironically, this narrow-minded approach of looking for fast profits can endanger the very thing that attracts visitors (i.e. the source of profits): the pristine environment.

A 1997 environmental law and a 2000 Coastal Zones Management law, which require new investments to obtain an environmental license, reflect concern about environmental protection.

INMOBILIARIAS

Around 80% of recent construction activity in Cuba is linked to tourism and real estate projects known as *inmobiliarias*—condos for foreigners. Joint ventures are mainly with Spanish, Canadian, Italian, and Israeli associates. The Cuban contribution represents an estimated \$500 million, according to a March 2000 Lincoln Institute of Land Policy study, "Using Land Value to Promote Development in Cuba."

Land has been the main Cuban contribution, and to a lesser extent the supply of construction workers and some basic buildsion, but this approach tends to look at real estate businesses as one-time sources of income, without capturing land value increments. On the other hand, the decision about land value is made without using price as a planning tool to encourage or discourage construction on certain locations, with no systematic updating of prices. This leads to the exploitation of short-run profits, with buildings as big as possible—actually bigger than they should be-fitting badly in large vacant lots within the existing urban fabric, usually made up of much smaller lots and narrow, low-rise buildings set close to each other. Residents don't see any direct benefit from the newcomers, which instead overload their already critical utilities.

For instance, Monte Barreto is a developing zone on a large tract of land in western Havana with more than 100 acres that remained barren up until the mid 1970s. It has a privileged location, overlooking the sea and crossed by the beautiful Fifth Avenue, the backbone of the former upscale Miramar district. The development pattern of this area proved to be shortsighted: buildings were placed in rows parallel to the shore. As a result, four hotels (Tritón, Neptuno, Meliá-Habana and Panorama, the latter under construction) completely fill that front line, leaving pedestrians and the rest of the new buildings without access or even ground-level views to the sea. Behind that first row will be two more strips, occupied by the eighteen buildings of the Miramar Trade Center with 1.9 million square feet for offices and shops, plus 750,000 square feet for parking for

This quick flow of investments into Cuba's many wild beaches and keys is affecting biodiversity.

ing materials. New projects have often been criticized for excessive use of land, with too high densities and little open space. Investors try to justify this claiming the high price they must pay for the land is the culprit. Land leasing on a 25-year term (that can be extended to another 25 if both partners agree) has always been preferred instead of selling. A law regulating land usage has been discussed for many years, but still has not been approved.

In May 2000 the Cuban government decided to forbid sales of apartments to foreigners, allowing only deals in progress to proceed. Preserving national property by not selling to foreigners may seem a correct deci2,000 cars. By mid-2001 only two of these buildings had been finished, but four more are scheduled for construction. Three additional hotels are slated for a location further away from the sea and south of Fifth Avenue. One, the Miramar-Novotel, has been built, and another is presently under construction. Even farther south remains an open space with some natural caves and unique vegetation to be preserved as a public park.

However, a much wiser general layout would leave a linear central park running all the way north to south into the sea, lined with buildings that could *all* have two great



Fishing on Havana's Malecón

views, a direct one onto the park and another slanted onto the ocean. This public space might perform as a social leveler, bringing together foreigners and Cubans-or, in the future, just different kinds of people with different income levels. The whole complex of more than 100 acres is dollar-oriented, with no room for a badly needed mixeddevelopment that would include other urban functions. This district gives a hint of what might become a car-oriented consumerist pattern of suburban development that would unfortunately reshape the image of Havana and change the traditional way people behave in public spaces. A lesson can be learned from the Monte Barreto experience: diversity does more than just preserve nature.

PRESERVATION PAYS

Symbolically, the first two laws passed by the then-new National Assembly in December 1976 were dedicated to historic preservation: Law # 1, on National Cultural Heritage, and Law # 2 on National and Local Landmarks. Preservation since the early 1960s had been mostly focused on the restoration of some very relevant buildings, but projects increased and the scope expanded after the early 1980s when the City Historian's office took over as the main investor for restoration in Old Havana. A significant increase of this work happened after a 1993 law allowed the office to run its own businesses and reinvest the profits in preservation programs.

The structure of the City Historian's Office led by the charismatic Eusebio Leal grew more complicated as the scope of businesses and tasks increased. By late 2000, it encompassed the city's Master Plan Office, which in turn included the San Isidro project in the southern tip of the old walled precinct. This project seeks the total revitalization of a historically poor neighborhood where Havana's

most notorious red-light district of Havana flourished in the early 1900s. The office also includes a negotiating group, the Plan Malecón for the comprehensive development (PERI) of the first 14 blocks along Havana's landmark waterfront promenade), and a mass media group with a radio station. Also under the City Historian were the departments of cultural heritage, architectural heritage, housing, architectural projects, and a workshopschool to train youngsters as skilled rehabilitation workers. It also has an economic department that includes accounting, investments, taxes, donations/cooperation, imports/ exports, employment, and commercial.

The entrepreneurial system of the office comprises several business concerns: the Puerto Carenas construction company, two real estate agencies (Aurea and Fénix), Habaguanex (the initial commercial enterprise under the City Historian's Office and still the most important), a nursery supplying plants and flowers, La Begonia; a touroperator agency, San Cristóbal, and the Restoration of Monuments company that grew from the one that started preservation works on historic landmarks in Old Havana in the 1980s, according to a 1999 report by Patricia Rodríguez, "Desafío de una utopía / Challenge of a utopia. Plan Maestro de La Habana Vieja", Ciudad/City # 4, Navarra.

The experience of the City Historian's Office in Old Havana has been partially extended to other historic centers in Cuba like Trinidad, Santiago de Cuba, and Camagüey. Once benignly regarded as an impossible burden hindering the Cuban government, the office is now self-sustaining and even able to extend benefits to local residents through job creation and improvement of their living conditions: a demonstration of a fruitful convergence of cultural, social, environmental, and economic interests. Culture-

motivated city tourism can bring new life to central districts that were already abandoned, neglected or overlooked a century ago. This type of tourism-especially if properly disseminated-will have a less negative social and environmental impact. But a viable largescale preservation of Havana's enormous built heritage calls for the active participation of the local population, building a culture of cooperation within well-established neighborhoods. In the end, an empowerment of the residents through a flexible local economy should make as many people as possible capable of paying for themselves.

James Marston Fitch was one of the first scholars to indicate how the revitalization of historic centers could become a motor for the entire city economy. The economic success of the preservation program in Old Havana, and to a less extent in other Cuban urban centers, confirms this assertion. However, it also raises the question of how to use a historic site or building without destroying not only its physical values but also its intangible ones, like character and dignity.

And this economic success also may encourage a review of the ethics of preservation and the search for authenticitywhich is more challenging in younger centers that have undergone sharp transformations, like in America, than in older, consolidated historic centers, like Europe. Historic sites should be attractive and livable, but market-driven gentrification and tertiarization processes, plus a kitschy commercial approach to please mass tourists might ruin them even faster than neglect, poverty, or violence. A careful combination of pragmatic and cultural goals, like in Old Havana, might succeed in walking along the thin line between paralysis and disaster.

Mario Coyula Cowley is the Robert F. Kennedy Visiting Professor in Latin American Studies at Harvard's Graduate School of Design for the Spring semester, 2002. He is professor emeritus and former dean from the Faculty of Architecture, ISPIAE, in Havana, Cuba. He is former president of Havana's Landmarks Commission and former director of Architecture and Urbanism at Havana, as well as an advisor and former director for the Group for the Integral Development (GDIC). He was awarded the Cuban National Prize of Architecture in 2001.

Architecture and Tourism

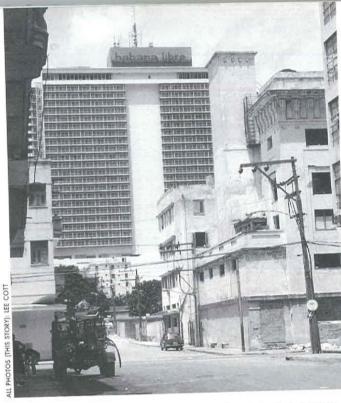
Three Havana Hotels

BY LEE COTT

S TOURISM AND FOREIGN BUSINESS continue to grow and prosper in Havana, the rush is on to build new hotels throughout the city as quickly as possible. During my last trip to Havana, I saw three large hotels under construction, the result of Chinese, Spanish, and French joint ventures with the Cuban government. Undoubtedly more are underway, or at least on the drawing boards. Havana has a hot tourist trade, and the Cubans know that to satisfy the increasing demand for highquality accommodations, more rooms must be built. Prior to this period of hotel expansion, it was the 1950s that saw the greatest number of new hotels constructed to accommodate the rapid growth in tourism, primarily due to the casino industry. During that period, three hotels of architectural note were built. Each are icons of mid-20th century Havana. All remain standing today as evidence of the triumphs and failures of international modernism. All three bear a strong resemblance to their Miami precedents and are "must sees" for any American tourist in Cuba.

The Havana Hilton, renamed the Havana Libre after the 1959 revolution, is the largest and, at first glance, the most garish of the group. Yet more careful consideration reveals there is much to be learned from the placement of this large building into the 19th century Havana neighborhood. The Capri Hotel is located two blocks from the Havana Libre and is about one-third its size, yet is far more disruptive to its immediate environment. The third hotel, the Riviera, is located away from the downtown on the Malecón, Havana's equivalent of the Corniche, and is the most elegant of the group. Even in the world of Socialist Cuba, these hotels function as everyday tourist destinations and apparently are no longer thought of as being decadent or as representative of the excesses of pre-revolutionary Cuba.

As concerned Cuban architects and urban





From left to right: Havana Libre, Hotel Capri, and Hotel Riviera

designers ponder the future of the central Havana urban fabric, currently threatened with high-rise tourist-related development, they need not look too much further than these three hotels for a list of do's and don'ts for future development. While these three buildings are at first glance a catalog of mediocre American-inspired modernism—easily dismissed as the worst America had to offer—each contains valuable lessons in how the Cuban government might think about design review of larger scale developments.

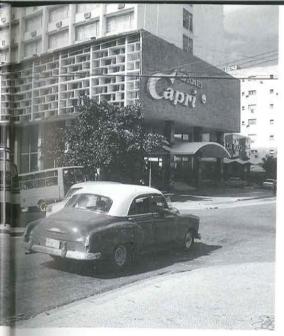
Shortly after his triumphant march into Havana in early January 1959, Fidel Castro chose the one-year old Havana Hilton as the temporary headquarters of his revolutionary government. Castro, always politically savvy, knew well the irony and wisdom of such a move. This towering symbol of years of American intervention in Latin America was constructed in the final hours of the regime of the American supported dictator, Fulgencio Batista, and in those early months of "Patria o Muerte," was the most important place in all Havana.

The Havana Libre, designed by Welton Beckett & Associates in the late 1950s with the Cuban firm of Arroyo y Menendez, remains at the spiritual heart of much of the action in present day Havana. Its location on a hillside at the boundary of central Havana and the Vedado district guarantees physical prominence and high visibility from nearly all of Western Havana. This 630-room, 27-story slab tower has a surprisingly minimal impact on its immediate context despite being one of the city's largest built projects. Urban-

istically it is highly successful at the neighborhood scale. Its designers were clearly cognizant of the surrounding context with its conflicting urban design scales. The presence of the late 19th and early 20th century three-story buildings surrounding the site demanded a sympathetic low-rise architectural response, but the program demanded a highrise solution. While this is not too different from a great deal of program-vs.-site-related conflict of 20th century urban America, it is frighteningly true of present day Havana.

To further complicate the matter, the Havana Libre sits astride La Rampa, the major street of mid-20th century Havana. La Rampa is a wide, sloping boulevard that was once the action center of the casino gambling and prostitution-filled days of the 1940s and 1950s. It appears that the designers of the Havana Hilton were well aware of their challenge. The result is a building complex that works surprisingly well at the level of urban design. The building occupies a full city block and is three stories taller at one end due to its sloping site. The architects chose to place the structure on a wide plinth to provide a level platform—an organizing datum line—on which to build their tower and to place shops at the street level below the plinth, providing a nearly continuous retail space at the base below the entry level to the hotel. The car/pedestrian entry is the built continuation of La Rampa onto the site—a brilliant urban design maneuver that intelligently connects the building with its pedestrian and vehicular surroundings.

By setting the tower back and above the



plinth, the architects were able to provide a dramatic series of cantilevered roof structures at the two and three story level that align with the two and three story parapets of the neighboring structures across the street from the main entry. In fact, on this level, as well as at the level of the surrounding streets, one is hardly aware of the 27-story tower that is set back at another upper level far behind the actual entrance from the porte cochere. In this regard, the Havana Hilton provides a valuable lesson for the future large scale architectural interventions in Havana.

The second 1950s modernist hotel in



its context, the Capri is an architectural bull in a china shop—out of place and out of scale.

On the other hand, and quite another matter, is the Hotel Riviera a few kilometers away along the Malecón, Havana's equivalent of the Corniche. Opened in 1958 by Miami mobster Meyer Lansky, the Riviera caused quite a stir. Visitors gawked at its egg-shaped gold leafed casino while watching Ginger Rodgers in the nightclub's

cessful piece of urban design.

As Havana moves forward into the next decades, the government of Fidel Castro seems determined to develop economic joint ventures with foreign countries and businesses in support of Cuban style Caribbean tourism. The resulting construction boom has not yielded many quality hotel designs. For the most part what has been built is either too big, as is the case with the Spanish Melia Cohiba, or completely inappropriate for its site, as is the case with the Parque Central. These are buildings designed off-shore with little attention paid to their Havana sites or context. While there is a certain threat to the city inherent with this direction, Havana can learn from the design triumphs and failures of the Havana Libre, the Capri, and the Riviera. It may stand a chance yet-perhaps inspired by these three lesser known examples of 20th century modernism.

Lee Cott is an Adjunct Professor of Urban Design at the Harvard Graduate School of Design. Cott is president and founding principal of Bruner/Cott & Associates, a Cambridge architecture firm, whose designs for affordable housing and other large-scale community development-related rehabilitation, adaptive reuse, and preservation projects have received local and national awards. He regularly organizes studios for students at the Harvard Graduate School of Design in Havana. A Fellow of the AIA and former president of the Boston Society of Architects, he is also a member of the DRCLAS Policy Committee.

Havana can learn from the design triumphs and failures of these three hotels.

downtown Havana is the Hotel Capri. It is located two blocks from the Havana Libre and was built in 1958 by New York mobster Santo Traficante. If the Havana Libre contains lessons of "what to do," then the Hotel Capri, designed by the Cuban architect Jose Canaves Ugalde, is a primer on "what not to do." The Capri contains a mere 216 rooms but is very cramped on its site. It is evident there is just too much program on too small a site. This alone should be a valuable lesson for present day urban designers and planners thinking about tourism in Havana. Even though the Hotel Capri is located on a corner site, it does not take full enough advantage of its street façade exposure on two sides. Instead the entries to its front lobby and nightclub are adjacent to each other on the same side. Furthermore, the Capri was built with no regard for its context and rubs against its neighbors most inelegantly. Where the Havana Libre is nearly brilliant in relating to

opening act. It's said that New York architect Philip Johnson proposed the original building design to his client, but that Johnson walked out on Lansky when his client requested a taller building. As constructed, The Riviera is a stunning example of 1950s "Miami Beach" hotel architecture. It is a graceful building with cantilevered curved balconies and an articulated structural concrete frame. Its elegant green, gray, and black color motif blend well with the sea, sky, and the Malecón. The 17-story tower stands alone-very much as originally intendedon a wide traffic island adjacent to a wellto-do neighborhood. The Riviera is an object building that stands alone from its neighborhood context, and therefore, sets itself apart from its immediate urban environment. Its Miami inspired design, reminiscent of the late Morris Lapidus at his best, which alone gives the building a certain level of curiosity, fails to carry it along as a suc-

ALL PHOTOS (THIS STORY): GORDON WINSLOW, CUBAN INFORMATION ARCHIVES www.cuban-exila.com

The Caribbean

Tourism as Development or Development for Tourism?

BY LORENA G. BARBERIA

IRED OF THE SAME OLD VACATION ON a sandy, sunny Caribbean beach? Are you looking for a little more excitement—how about some rum, rumba, and roulette at a glittery cabaret with fantastic sensuous dancers? Better yet, have you heard about the latest craze described in Cabaret Magazine?

"The fledgling nitery is Cubana Airlines" Tropicana Special, an innovation in cabaret enterprise that has eliminated all the problems of drifting patrons. Jaded nightclub fans in the famed resort are finding that boredom banishes and drinks and entertainment have a new zest when enjoyed in cloudland. As a result, the new nitery in the sky is enjoying a booming business that is the envy of all its earthbound competitors. The Special is designed primarily for bon vivants desirous of sampling the nightlife of nearby Cuba. It takes off every Thursday from Miami's international airport. An hour later it sets its happier patrons down in the balmy air of the land of daiguiris and sex at Havana's Aeropuerto Jose Marti. In between the bibblers are treated to excellent drinks, top-notch Latin music, and a floor show that fills the plane with song and laughter."

If you want to take the Tropicana Special, you will have to return to 1957. Back in the 1950s, Cuba and Haiti were the top Caribbean destinations. Indeed, tourism is one of the Caribbean's oldest businesses. Among the fifty persons or so who made up Havana's population when it was founded in 1514, fourteen were temporary visitors, according to the March 1956 Cuba Airguide Tourist Magazine. The Cuban Information Archives http://cuban-exile.com/doc_201- 225/doc0201.html> offers a fascinating glance into the Caribbean past, including this description from Henry Darling's "Night Club In The Sky: Cubana Airlines' Tropicana Special" from a 1957 Cabaret Magazine.

Taking off in the 20th century's post-war booms and promoted by travel agents, tour operators, airlines and cruise lines, large hotel and resort chains, and international tourism organizations, the tourism industry in the Caribbean emerged to cater to a mass deluge of tourists promising them the "four S's: sun, sea, sand, and sex. According to Jay Mullin, who investigated Havana nightlife, a total of 1.5 million visitors were traveling to the Caribbean by 1957, 347,508 of whom were mostly Americans traveling to discover the hidden treasures of the pearl of the Antilles. While sugar was Cuba's top

islands. In islands where economic development options may be further hindered by size and location, tourism can be a significant source of dollar earnings, foreign exchange, investment, and employment. More than 40 years later, tourism continues to be the primary engine of development for most island economies in the Caribbean, promising greater levels of growth than what

Tourism is one of the Caribbean's oldest businesses. It continues to be a primary engine for development.

export, hard currency earnings from tourism, amounting to \$60 million annually, was the second largest revenue source surpassing that of Cuba's other export crops including tobacco. Ever-struggling to lure ever-greater numbers of visitors and foreign direct investment, the Cuban government enacted a law in 1955 permitting the installation of casinos and gambling in all hotels worth over \$1,000,000.

The picture changed dramatically in the following decades—or did it?. After the Cuban Revolution, the deluge of tourists frequenting the island's casinos and cabarets became a mere trickle. Revolutionary Cuba shifted its strategy away from tourism dependency, closing up gambling halls and cracking down on prostitution. The number of American visitors declined dramatically following the U.S. economic embargo on Cuba in 1963, forbidding Americans from spending dollars on the island. In the subsequent decade, the few Americans who visited Cuba came as part of solidarity brigades.

Haiti, also a very popular destination in the 1950s, in subsequent decades experienced a similar dramatic fall in visitors, mainly because of political instability, violence, and fear of AIDS. While tourists continue to be lured to the Caribbean by the four S's, they despise the four P's—political upheaval, poor infrastructure, poverty and those things that become 'passe'.

Cuba and Haiti illustrate many of the development dilemmas facing Caribbean can be extracted from primary commodities. Yet, as a low-skilled service sector industry the long-term growth implications of building an economy on the base of entertaining short-term visitors may not be as beneficial as one would wish. Nonetheless, both Cuba and Haiti have once again turned to tourism as a part of their development strategy, joining their Caribbean neighbors and struggling with the same dilemma—is tourism a sustainable strategy for pursuing economic and social development? Or is tourism an industry that mostly benefits foreigners at too high a price in terms of a nation's cultural and social development trajectory?

WHAT HAS CHANGED? PRESENT-DAY TOURISM IN THE CARIBBEAN

High-volume mass tourism, where vacationers prepay travel packages on cruise ships or beach resorts, dominates the tourist industry in the Caribbean. In the last four decades, the number of possible vacation destinations has grown spectacularly as a greater number of islands have developed travel industries, and some have even created their own niches to attract particular types of visitors. As the table below illustrates, no country attracts more than 12 percent of the total 18 million Caribbean visitors to the top 10 destination countries in 2000. Northern tier islands, such as Puerto Rico and Bahamas, have emerged to draw American travelers, while eastern tier islands lured more European and Canadian visitors, and southern tier islands attracted



more Latin American visitors.

The Caribbean is a geopolitical construct that includes the following principal islands: Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Cuba, Dominica, Grenada, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Jamaica, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago, Anguilla, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Montserrat, Turks and Caicos, Guadaloupe, Guiana, Martini, Puerto Rico, U.S. Virgin Islands, Aruba, Bonaire, Curacao, St. Eustatius, St. Marten, and Saba. With 16 independent countries, six semi-autonomous Dutch territories, five British overseas territories, three French overseas departments, a commonwealth associated with the United States, and a U.S. territory, most islands are politically autonomous or are remote outposts of metropolitan countries.

Tourism is still an important vehicle driving the Caribbean's social economic transformation. Visitor expenditures average 25% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) among the top 10 destinations. In 1950, 65,000 tourists visited Puerto Rico and spent \$7million, or \$107 per visitor. Today, 4.2 million visitors, 80% of whom are American guests, have transformed the island into the most popular destination in the Caribbean spending \$2.139 billion, or \$509 per tourist (5.6% of GDP). Even in Cuba, where traffic was halted for many decades, gross tourism revenue is now the country's largest source of hard currency earnings, netting \$1.95 billion in revenues (about 9% of GDP). And unlike the rest of the Caribbean, few U.S. tourists visit Cuba, because of Washington's travel ban. The result is a broader-based industry, with a wider seasonal spread. Canadians form the largest single group, followed by Italians and other Europeans.

TOURISM IN THE CARIBBEAN

Over the past three decades, Caribbean cruise ships have aggressively seized market share from resort hotels on the islands. Lured by the promise of all-inclusive, prepaid packages, brief stops on ports of call, limitless consumption and entertainment, more than 40% of tourists in the Caribbean's top nine destinations are now embarking on tourism that largely takes place in international waters, mostly unregulated and

Dancing aboard Cubana Airlines' Tropicana Special untaxed. According to the EIU, the Caribbean accounts for almost one-half of worldwide cruise traffic. As a result, cruise passengers far outnumber stopover tourists on several islands including the Bahamas and Cayman Islands.

Even with cruise ship growth in market share, spending per tourist is significantly lower in islands focused on attracting cruise and yacht vacationers. For example, the tourist industry contributed 53.7% of Bahamas's GDP in 1999, but only 15 cents

to attract overnight visitors, the solution has been to build large-scale infrastructure and resorts with intensely developed shorelines. Such is the case in the Dominican Republic and Jamaica, both of whom have invested resources in all-inclusive "enclave" resorts.

However, creating these types of enclave resorts requires large-scale investment, the kind not available in most islands' domestic capital markets. Hence, many Caribbean countries have financed the creation of resorts largely with foreign capital and foreign own-

The challenge of island tourism is providing visitors with high-quality experiences, while improving host community life.

of each dollar spent in the country remained on the island. Cruise tourism also requires significant investment in port facilities to attract cruise lines. Cuba has invested \$6 million in partnership with Genoa-based Costa Crociere, the world's fifth largest cruise operator, to renovate its port terminal in old Havana to welcome mostly European cruise ships. Last year 76,464 tourists—passengers from 11 ships that made some 260 stopovers-visited several Cuban port cities, Raquel Mattori observes in a recent article for the Spanish news agency. With this investment, official figures in Cuba estimate that each cruise passenger tourist in Cuba will spend some \$150 while visiting the island.

For Caribbean islands, the challenge now is to keep tourists on the islands. In order

ership. Foreign-owned hotel chains and resorts began investing heavily in the Caribbean in the early 1970s. Spanish hotel chain Sol Melia next year will add three more hotels to the 22 it already operates in Cuba. Other Cuban partners include Leisure Canada, a developer of luxury resorts, and Jamaica's SuperBreezes. These newest projects, aimed at more lucrative upscale travel market, signal a shift in Cuba's strategy, which traditionally aimed to attract mass-market beach tourists. Similar trends are found in the rest of the Caribbean, where 63% of hotel rooms are foreign-owned, Patty Patullo notes in her 1996 Last Resorts: The Cost of Tourism in the Caribbean (Cassell, London). Yet, with tourists highly sensitive to "passé" venues, over-development in enclave geographic areas

a la "Acapulco" can be a risky venture.

Just as in the 1950s, government policy continues to be very active in tourist industry promotion. Government investment in the infrastructure of tourism zones has been an essential element in tourism's take-off. In Cuba, the government has also taken a role managing inbound tour operations by providing multiple services through state enterprises. In the case of cruise tourism, however, government policy has been circumvented to the role of investor in services and infrastructure for large multinational corporations. In the Bahamas, for example, governments have attempted to extract a significant contribution to the local economy through the passenger head tax, but these initiatives have been strongly resisted by the industry. With heavy competition, other islands have been similarly reluctant to institute revenue extraction policies.

TOURISM AS A SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY FOR THE CARIBBEAN

Oftenviewed as both a harbinger of development and destruction, the challenge of insular tourism is to provide visitors with high-quality experiences, while attempting to improve the quality of life of citizens in the host community. In terms of development, tourism presents many challenges, such as the tendency to depend on imported goods and the lack of linkages between tourism and other economic sectors. While the number of arrivals is increasing, in per

Caribbean Tourism

CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES	STOPOVER ARRIVALS (MILLIONS)	CRUISE PASSENGER ARRIVALS (MILLIONS)	TOTAL NUMBER OF TOURISTS (MILLIONS)	STOPOVER EXPENDITURES (USSM)	CRUISE PASSENGER EXPENDITURES (USSM)	TOTAL VISITOR EXPENDITURES (USSM)	GDP (USSB)	TOURISM % OF GDP (USSM)
	1000	1.00	4.20			2139	38.22	5.6
UERTO RICO	3.00	1.20		1,463.6	114.9	1700	4.56	37.3
BAHAMAS	1.62	2.51	4.14					
DOMINICAN		0.50	2.60			2524	17.40	14.5
REPUBLIC	2.10	0.50				1233	5.61?	22.0
JAMAICA	1.15	0.76	1.91			1950	22.10	8.8
CUBA	1.60	0.20	1.80				0.92	53.7
CAYMAN	0.4066	1.04	1.45	431	63	494	11.00.00.00.00.00.00	24.5
Consultation of	0.55	0.53	1.08			1374	5.61?	
BARBADOS		0.18	0.66			221	0.65	33.8
BVI	0.48	0.18				n.a.	3.98	n.a.
HAITI	0.04		0.04					

Source: Elaborated by the author from data reported by the Economist Intelligent Unit.





Above left: dancing at the Tropicana; above right: tourism advertising from the 1950s

capita terms tourist expenditures are declining. Intense competition has meant that each traveler spends less money. Skewed benefits create regional as well as domestic inequalities. The current debate centers on whether it is possible to ameliorate these effects while continuing to take advantage of tourism's development potential.

The goal of sustainable tourism development is to focus on those strategies that more directly contribute to the development of the country as a whole, as well as that of regions and communities. This strategy is based on policies that promote local interests, preserve local landscapes, cultures and heritage, and match industry to local caring capacities. Along these lines, some economies have developed new market niches focused on ecotourism. In the Dominican Republic, for instance, excursions offer trips centered on hiking, caving, and biking through mountains and countryside. Other islands are investing in culture and heritage tourism-Cuba's Old Havana being the exemplary case in this strategy's success potential.

Another strategy, albeit indirectly acknowledged as part of tourism's development, is to exploit the potential revenue from emigres who return to visit their families on the islands. Having experienced significant out migration since the 1960s, many Caribbean islands have considerable proportions of their population residing abroad. In the case of

islands such as Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Haiti and Cuba, these visitors have become a greater share of the tourist traffic heading to the island. In the case of Haiti, 60 percent of tourists are emigres coming home for family visits. Rates in other islands are much lower, but nevertheless significant (see table). These tourists are not exactly foreigners—many of them stay with relatives for longer-term stays, rather than short trips to hotels and resorts.

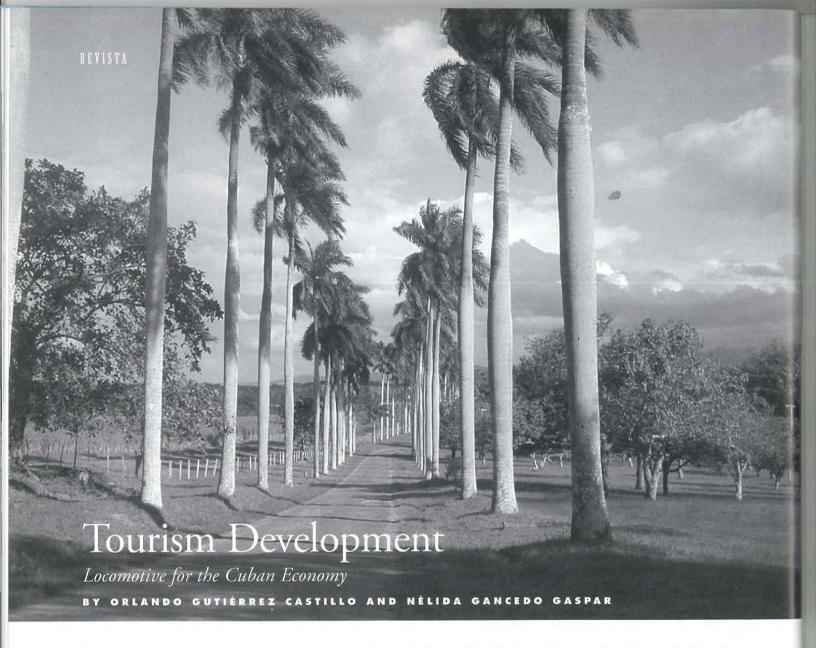
Given the prevailing situation of tourism's history and present scenarios, the effective practice of this strategy has only been materialized in a microcosm of the Caribbean. As Michael Manley, the late Jamaican prime minister, wrote in his foreword to Patty Pattullo's *Last Resorts*:

"The Caribbean needs tourism...Yet if its underlying dynamics are not understood, it can be an engine of short-term cash enhancement and long-term disaster. The danger lies in an industry increasingly based on the all-inclusive resort, walled off from the surrounding countryside and importing its food and furniture, its designs and designers, its fabrics and fashions from the U.S. mainland...

"[W]ith proper planning and popular participation, the tourism sector can become the best market for a great variety of products and activities, involving whole industries, professional groups and individuals. It can be the primary target for our architects and builders, for our artists and crafts people, as well as our farmers...[it] can provide a vital stimulus to regional production..."

Caribbean countries are acutely aware of tourism's problematic effects on local communities and have attempted to embark on a model that addresses many of the aforementioned problems. But, at best, these countries have been only partially successful. The most feasible and economically viable solution rests upon adopting a diversified strategy for developing their tourist industries. This has meant investing in both luxury beach resorts, cruise passengers, budget and academic travel visitors, ecotourism, family émigré visits as well as cultural and heritage tourism. The challenge for Caribbean countries is to effectively implement a mix of strategies suitable to their own tourism strengths. Only through this path will it be possible to solve the dilemma of tourism as development or development for tourism.

Lorena G. Barberia is the Cuba Program Associate at the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies. She received her BA in Economics from University of California, Berkeley and her Master's in Public Policy from the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. She also works as a consultant on economic development issues for Latin American economies.



HE POST-WAR BOOM, AS WELL AS THE modernization of transportation and communications, has led to rapid growth of the tourist sector, particularly in countries in the process of development.

Because of the general tourism boom, not to mention the critical situation spawned by the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe, Cuba began in the 1990s to adopt tourism as one of the basic pillars in the redefinition of its economic strategy. As a sunny Caribbean island, Cuba had flourished as a tourist destination, although it was accompanied by serious social distortions such as gambling, prostitution, and other vices. Following the Cuban revolution in 1959, however, tourism practically disappeared from the island. Part of the reason, of course, was that the United States market dried up as a result of the U.S. embargo. But more significantly, Cuba's strategy for economic and social development didn't consider tourist activity as key to the future of the island.

Tourism eventually became more important because it represented a significant group of investments that could generate hard currency. The 1997 Cuban Economic Resolution spells out the necessity to develop hard currency-earning sectors of the economy to finance other important activities, making explicit the role tourism could play in the country's economic future. To achieve this, it set a goal: to attract more than two million tourists to the country by the year 2000 and earn more than \$2,600 million from the tourist trade.

Thus, tourism, in ten years of sustained development, has been converted into the most dynamic sector of the Cuban economy. One-fourth of the investments in Cuba have been made in tourism. It has contributed an impressive 43% to the balance of payments at the end of the decade, more than any other industry. In a mere decade, tourism

has gone from being an incidental source of income to becoming a structural factor in the Cuban economy. Few times in international history has such a dynamic structural transformation occurred. Ten years ago, the sugar industry provided between 70 and 75% of the income of the balance of payments, while the tourist sector accounted for only 6%. Cuban Tourism Minister Ibrahim Ferradaz observed that "in the last ten years, the sector multiplied its gross income eightfold; the number of visitors multiplied by five, the number of rooms in tourist establishments tripled, and the number of jobs in the tourist sector doubled."

This achievement can be attributed to the design and implementation of a strategy for sector development, aiming to consolidate the "structural competitivity" of tourism through the use of Cuba's existing social and cultural assets, as well as the creation of long-term sustainable competitive advantages.

It is said that when Christopher Columbus arrived at the northeast coast of Cuba on October 27, 1492, startled by the island's beauty, he exclaimed, "This is the most beauriful land human eyes have ever seen!" And he became de facto the first tour operator on the island. Undoubtedly, Cuba is an obvious site for tourism, with its picturesque beaches, underwater beauty, countryside landscapes, and ecological reserves (many yet to be explored). Its climate complements its easy air and sea access, as well as its important historical and cultural patrimony. An educated population and improved infrastructure of roads and communications add to the mix.

The Cuban government's economic policy and support mechanisms have complemented these advantages. In the Caribbean region, Cuba is now the second most popular tourist destination.

PILLARS OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

In the context of an economic crisis, decisive Cuban government policy "bet on" tourism. Between 1990 and 1999, more than \$3.5 billion were invested in the tourist industry. The number of rooms available to international tourists grew from 12,000 to 35,000. Significant resources were also devoted to infrastructure such as airports, causeways connecting the keys, and other tourist facilities. The shift from an emphasis on goods and productivity to that of services has made tourism the "locomotive" of the Cuban economy.

Tourism is not only important in and of itself. It serves to stimulate other sectors of the economy. The real challenge is how tourism can contribute to the development and consolidation of sectors of the domestic economy that aren't truly competitive without losing "structural competitivity". However, the utilization of tourist demand has been sustained in a basic principle: to not force any tourist entity to buy national products, especially if those products are not considered internationally competitive. In this sense, the government does not provide support to national products in the context of the tourist industry.

Sectors related to the tourism sector operate in an environment of competition. In 1990, only 18% of the sector's purchases were domestic; by the end of 2000, the amount increased to 61%. As a result of the

incorporation of several sectors of the economy into the tourist "locomotive," 198,000 jobs were created or recovered.

The insufficiency of financial resources, the lack of channels of access to markets, as well as the lack of experience in tourist operations, also led to the necessity of developing a group of alliances of various types with foreign entities. In slightly more than ten years, 26 mixed enterprises have been created in the tourism sector. Moreover, by the end of the year 2000, half of the country's hotel capacity was administered by 17 international hotel chains.

Foreign companies have become increasingly interested in investing in the Cuban tourism sector, especially after the creation of a Ministry of Tourism in 1994, coupled

prevents demand from vacillating widely from season to season. Severe tourist ebb and flow would endanger macro-economic stability. Tourism in Cuba is a balancing act: to find an equilibrium in seasonal flows, geographic destinations, and tourist origins.

In spite of Cuba's favorable, tropical climate, statistics show that Cuba suffers from a certain degree of tourist seasonal peaks and declines. A significant dependence on the European and Canadian markets with preferences for escaping the harsh winters, as well as excessive summer heat and fears about the hurricane season, contribute to this pattern. The existence of high and low seasons keep the sector from operating efficiently. Vice-president Lage has referred to this problem, pointing out that it increases

Decisive government policy "bet on" tourism and made tourism the "locomotive" of Cuba's economy.

with the approval of a 1995 law that spelled out the rules for foreign investments. Francisco Camps, an executive with the Sol Melía hotel chain, considered the largest operational foreign partner with 20 hotels on the island, declared recently in a published interview that Cuba "has a lot of future in this field, and we enjoy these types of challenges."

The policy of education and development of human resources is another pillar of the strategy of tourism development in Cuba. Cuba's work force is well-educated, thus creating conditions to carry out efficient work in any field. The Cuban tourist system already has several educational centers to develop workers for this sector. In 1994, all these centers were consolidated into a network known as FORMATUR, today made up of 22 teaching centers throughout the country, from which 16,000 workers graduate annually in diverse fields of concentration.

CHALLENGES FOR THE SECTOR'S DEVELOPMENT

The Cuban tourist sector has been set up to offer year-round attractions to guarantee a steady flow of visitors, as well as repeat visits. Diversity is the key to accomplishing this goal.

Diversifying what Cuban tourism offers is to take full advantage of its diverse geography, and social, economic, and cultural possibilities, to reach all segments of the market and the largest numbers of markets. This the costs of operation and reduces profits.

This seasonality has been caused, in part, by the image of Cuba as a land of sun and beaches, instead of as a diversified country with many natural and cultural attractions. History, architecture, music, film, and art are just a few of the areas that can provide added value for the development of a more integrated, sustainable, and sophisticated assortment of tourist offerings.

Health tourism is another significant option because the recognized international prestige of Cuban medical science gives it a comparative advantage. The Servimed Company, part of the Cubanacán Corporation Group, S.A., works closely with five hotels, 23 hospitals, 11 international clinics, and a variety of pharmacies and optical stores. Health tourism accounts for two percent of tourism, and although this area does not anticipate spectacular growth in the next few years, a wide range of possibilities in the health arena could add significant value to tourism offerings. Education and sports are also important areas of development for specialized tourism, as is ecotourism.

One of the weaknesses of Cuban tourism is its high concentration in two poles, Havana and Varadero Beach, which together generate 70% of tourist revenue. Cuba's tourist strategy seeks a better balance throughout the island. However, extending the geographical scope of tourism should not result in the indiscriminate investment



Previous page: Cienfuegos Botanical Garden; above: a Havana street scene

in tourist activities without prioritizing.

Eight main regions all over the island have been identified as so-called tourist poles, and \$700 million has been invested to date in regional infrastructure. The policy of territorial diversification has been sustained to avoid the uncontrolled dispersion of resources.

The process of expansion and development of the Cuban tourism industry within the context of the island's economy faces yet another series of challenges. The elevation of economic efficiency is one of them. In spite of the significant reduction of losses compared to the past, a group of tourist entities generated losses of \$35 million. In this sense, several leaders of the sector have proposed cost-cutting measures without affecting service quality; the elevation of the efficiency of the investment process is one of the focal points in this process.

Another important challenge is to balance hotel investments and those related to developing other tourist facilities. During the 90s, the construction of hotel rooms accounted for 73% of investments. By the end of 1999, 60 hotels had been built, giving Cuba the second largest hotel capacity in the Caribbean. The remaining 27% was earmarked for infrastructure (11.3% for airports, and 5.6 % for a series of causeways) in the Coconut Key region, leaving other tourist-related investments such as restoration and recreation with only 13.8%. This imbalance has generated an unbalanced loss of diversity in tourist attractions.

The challenge for the Cuban tourist industry is to slow down the ever-increas-

ing investment in hotel capacity and to speed up investments in non-hotel facilities and infrastructure. In spite of the low investment in these areas, non-hotel tourist amenities generate 18% of industry income. This shift presupposes a change in mentality regarding the conception of the tourist business. At the outset, it was more important to attract the greatest quantity of tourists possible through all-inclusive package deals, but right now it's necessary to rethink Cuba's tourist "product." It's time to decide whether it's worthwhile to keep growing hotel capacity in an excessive form or to develop additional tourist offerings through the development of a tourist infrastructure beyond hotel chains.

Finally, the development of tourism on islands like Cuba depends on the high quality of air transportation. The Caribbean's regional air hub is generally Miami, which isn't a possibility for Cuba because of the economic boycott by the United States government. Thus, Cuba has to reframe its air traffic capacity to meet the needs of the tourist industry.

THE CUBAN EXPERIENCE

The Cuban tourist sector now faces the challenge of increasing its competitive capacity and taking advantage of important opportunities and resources. Weaknesses associated with both objective and subjective factors have to be worked out through a coherent strategy that adequately uses the human capital in Cuba as its principal economic resource.

After discussing the tactical adjustments

that the country would need to adopt to confront the current depression caused by world-wide recession and the impact of September 11, Tourism Minister Ferradaz stressed that "the situation would not affect the important construction already underway." He confirmed that tourism would continue to be a key sector of the Cuban economy.

Cuba is not going to offer just any type of tourism to bring in hard currency; guidelines have been established about the kind of tourism that Cuba wishes to develop as a destination. President Fidel Castro himself has declared, "Sex tourism will never be permitted, nor drugs nor anything of that sort. This is not gambling tourism; it is healthy tourism, and that is what we want; it is what we promote, because we know that today tourists are worried about their safety and we have the conditions to offer them that security. We have a hospitable people, a high and growing level of education, that is, we have the conditions to offer these tourist services and at the same time, to cooperate with other Caribbean islands."

Cuba is not looking at tourism as some sort of short-term solution that exploits people's curiosity about the island. Nor does it see tourism as "a necessary evil" in the heart of a socialist society, explanations sometimes given by those confused about the impressive dynamism of the Cuban tourist sector. Tourism in Cuba is a strategic development associated with creating a new concept of sustainable tourism from the vantage point of its ecological, economic, and social dimensions.

Orlando Gutiérrez Castillo is a professor at the Center for Studies of the Cuban Economy at the University of Havana and a business consultant to Cuban firms and institutions, some of them in the tourist sector. For the past five years, he has been investigating the performance of tourism on the island. He has published several articles about tourism both within and outside Cuba.

Nélida Gancedo Gaspar is a professor at the Center for Studies of the Cuban Economy at the University of Havana. She has carried out several studies on the impact of tourism on the Cuban economy. She has published a variety of articles and has spoken on this subject at scientific conferences on and off the island.

Caribbean Tourism and Development

Sociocultural Epidemiology

BY YORGHOS APOSTOLOPOULOS AND SEVIL SÖNMEZ

ASS CHARTER TOURISM IS THE cornerstone of development plans in the Caribbean. Unparalleled tourism investment in the post-World War II era has boosted a tourist influx of unprecedented dimensions-the world's largest peacetime population movement-especially in developing insular regions. The heavy influx of tourists has contributed to significant economic gains in Caribbean nations. However, it has simultaneously inflicted a plethora of long-term adverse consequences, including the emergence and diffusion of infectious diseases. Paradoxically, while the sustainable development of the Caribbean requires the control of infections and diseases, travel and tourism actually produce the facilitating conditions for their very emergence.

Tourism, the dominant economic activity of the Caribbean islands, reaches higher than 90% of Gross Domestic Product in many islands. At the same time, this vital source of income has also been identified as a major threat to the region's sociocultural, ecological, and public health sustainability. These include spatial and socioeconomic polarization, uneven development, ecological degradation, domination of regional political economies, management repatriation, rising alienation among locals, and structural under-development. Such negative externalities of tourism have eclipsed the potential for equitable social, sectoral, and regional benefits, especially considering that mass tourism was expected to demonstrate the greatest positive impact. Further, this unprecedented growth has resulted in a surplus of accommodations and its subsequent consequences, inflationary pressures causing dramatic rises in the cost of living, labor and other resource shortages, and a failure to integrate tourism with other sectors.

The conventional mass tourism model must undergo a significant overhaul to avoid undermining local communities' ecological and social systems. This means encouraging different types of tourists and tourism, spreading tourism over more diverse destinations, and thinking about products in mar-

kets—in short, profound structural changes in the tourist industry. These modifications must include interregional differentiation, diverse regional tourism production, and maximized economic benefits in both the informal and formal sectors over an entire region. All this can be accomplished by initiating effective interlinkages between tourism and other economic sectors, by assuring equity and encouraging local involvement, by incorporating environmental considerations into policy making and tourist product development, and by assuring continuity and adjustability of the region's tourism development within its wider environment. Further, considering the tourism industry's vulnerability to uncontrolled internal and external shocks (i.e., recession, natural disasters, geopolitical conflicts, epidemic disease), the welfare of the littoral Caribbean may be undermined and ultimately constrained by neglect of the critical importance of social and geographic ecology.

HEALTH REPERCUSSIONS OF CARIBBEAN TOURISM

While microbial adaptation and change most often account for the origin of diseases, international travel has been linked with an explosion of disease propagation in several geographic regions. When people travel, not only do they carry their genetic makeup, disease pathogens and vectors, and accumulated immunologic experience, but they also transport their capacity to introduce diseases into new regions. Like other exchangeable goods, the diffusion of disease through traveling human populations traces the structure of social networks, as various diseases travel along different structural routes.

The Caribbean already suffers from problems associated with underdevelopment and endemic and climate risks. However, the annual influx of millions of mass tourists to the Caribbean constitutes an added pathway for the diffusion of infections and diseases. It also sets the stage for intermingling diverse genetic pools and cultures. The public health repercussions affect the host population, as well as the traveler, in ways previously unknown and unanticipated. The tourist brings these public health repercussions back home, and both ecosystems receive their impact. The global leisure revolution, ongoing improvements in transport media, and movement between diverse climatic zones (exemplified by global warming and climate change) have exacerbated the vulnerability of travelers to infectious diseases. Beyond the illnesses induced by travel itself, the exposure to unfamiliar infectious agents and demonstration of risky behaviors heightened by the vacation setting and culture, have the potential to cause enormous health strains on the parties involved.

Travel health risks in the Caribbean-

Health and Travel

"Global travel continues to increase. Air traffic volume has increased about 7% per year for the past 20 years and as of the mid '90s, about 5000 airports had scheduled worldwide service. This massive movement of the human population links all major urban areas in the world. Speed of travel means that a person bitten by a mosquito carrying dengue in Bangkok can reach home in Brazil before symptoms of infection begin. Travelers carrying the dengue virus have transported it around the globe and introduced different serotypes into new areas where competent vectors exist. It is the co-circulation of more than one dengue serotype that sets the stage for severe disease."

—Dr. Mary Wilson, Associate Professor of Medicine, Harvard Medical School, Health and Equity issue of DRCLAS NEWS, Fall 2000. ranging from malaria and dengue fever to HBV and dysentery—differ by types of travel. However, mass tourists are the travelers most at risk for infection. Furthermore, the magnitude of health consequences of mass tourism largely depends upon the volume and scope of tourists, as well as health determinants related to the process of travel. The tourist influx bridging disparate population health determinants often crosses gaps in socioeconomic development and public health practices with analogous consequences.

As is the case in most littoral areas, risky behavioral patterns involving substance misuse and casual/unprotected sexual encounters constitute a prevalent hazard in the Caribbean islands particularly due to the pervasiveness of "sun, sea, sand, and sex" tourists. Moreover, the tourist-based commercial sex industry, fueled by the eagerness of certain travelers to seek out commercial sex opportunities while on a Caribbean vacation pro-

ed as part of the amenities of a tourist holiday package by some islands, such as the Dominican Republic. On others, such as Haiti, sex between adult male tourists from the U.S. and local children has remained a part of the informal commercial sex industry for many years. Of course, while tourism is not the cause of minors' sexual exploitation, it does provide easy access to vulnerable children. Therefore, the acute importance of regulation and health surveillance of the commercial sex industry is self-evident, particularly as it intersects with travelers.

HEALTH POLICY FOR A GLOBALIZED TOURIST INFLUX

The globalization process has dramatically transformed global tourist patterns. As there are clear indications that human mobility will further intensify over the coming years—regardless of the setbacks experienced by the tourism industry resulting from the September 11 terrorist attack in the U.S.—

Mass tourists are the travelers most at risk for infections such as malaria and dengue fever.

vides prostitutes with ample opportunities to give sexually-transmitted infections (STIs) to travelers in the absence of state control and regulation. Further, similarly risky encounters occur between "beach boys" and white foreign women, between locals and "exotic" visitors, and between pedophiles and victims of child sex tourism. In the Caribbean, as in many other developing tourist regions, informal sector tourism is inseparable from the sexual exploitation of women and children. Sex tourism is based on networks that provide services such as tourist guides, prostitutes, brothels, and massage parlors and often serve foreign sex tourists as well as local customers. Minors in particular are attracted to working in sex tourism by the lure of foreign tourists' wealth and consumerism. Sex tourism, homophobia, and poverty have been blamed for the AIDS increase in the Caribbean, which has the second highest rate of HIV infection after Africa. Surprisingly, the Caribbean along with Latin America continues to be perceived as an attractive destination by sex tourists.

Preconceived images of "exotic" local women have fueled the idea that "they are full of sexual energy" or that "they only think about sex." These images are often promotthere are immense public health ramifications. Tourist health is practically treated as a hidden dimension of tourism and consequently neglected. Yet, both tourists in the Caribbean and host populations are increasingly exposed to new health problems as the circulation of pathogens and vectors increases due to intersecting epidemiological and sociocultural boundaries. Discrepancies in the level of knowledge and types of beliefs, attitudes toward diseases and health, and expectations for and access to health services or information are likely to exist between travelers' home communities and the destinations they visit. Assessing and monitoring factors that affect health and health services for international tourists are crucial for anticipating and proposing changes and adaptations to tourists' health needs. A clear understanding of the related causes and risk factors is critical for targeting adapted preventive interventions. The growing awareness of the dangers of HIV/AIDS and other STIs make this even more imperative, especially since such serious health risks can create irreversible problems for the Caribbean's predominantly "4S" tourist market.

The health risks of travelers are related not solely to the destination and direction of trav-

el but also to the movements of tourists across epidemiological, behavioral, and geographic boundaries. The multi-directionality of tourist flows in the Caribbean and their demographic composition can essentially determine the health characteristics of populations. Since tourism is of such importance to the Caribbean, the promotion of travel health represents a crucial strategy because subsequent public policies, if properly initiated, could make significant contributions to the maintenance and growth of international economies. While travel health promotion may have the correct intentions, its shortcomings are often due to unplanned and uncoordinated activities within the amorphous, acephalous, and fragmented tourist industry, to the narrow focus of much contemporary medical education, to widespread ignorance of medical (disease) geography, and to the associated risks of disease importation and spread from tourist migration.

Because of increasing global tourism and emerging and re-emerging infections, the World Health Organization and World Tourism Organization have been urged to cooperate on a strategic initiative to provide guidelines for future action. The global public health ramifications of tourism can only be mitigated by the synergistic efforts of these international organizations. The emphasis of the initiative rests on the importance of working with primary stakeholders involved in and influenced by global tourism patterns. The "healthy travel and tourism" campaign has resulted. The campaign aims to define constructive action priorities to avoid health problems, to promote health among both travelers and host communities, and to establish healthy tourism networks among private sector representatives (such as tour operators and travel agencies) and host country authorities. Travel health promotion as well as mitigation planning, ongoing disease prevention, hazard mapping and surveillance, and risk assessment bolstered by sociomedical research are critical for a sustainable tourism sector in the Caribbean.

Yorghos Apostolopoulos is a Research Associate Professor of Sociology and Sevil Sönmez is an Associate Professor of Tourism Management, both at Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona. Their work delves into development, health, population/tourism, and the epidemiology of migration.

After September 11

Tourism to Latin America

BY JOAQUIN VIAL

After September 11 p. 81 Brazil p. 82 Let's Go p. 84

OURISM HAS BEEN A GROWING INDUSTRY IN LATIN AMERICA IN the last decades. After the initial boom of the traditional "sun and beaches" type of tourism that became a major export for the Caribbean countries and Mexico in the 80's and 90's, new types of tourism have been emerging, like ecotourism to Costa Rica

and the Galapagos islands in Ecuador, as well as culturally oriented tourism focusing in the rich archeological treasures of Mexico, Guatemala or Peru. By the end of the nineties this was a sector with sales over \$35 billion

in Latin America and the Caribbean and more than 50 million passengers per day arrivals. Tourism receipts in the Caribbean region range from about 30% of total exports receipts in the Dominican Republic, to more than 75% in Barbados and St. Lucia. In many of these countries, this sector is the largest employer.

However, not all has been well with this sector in the region. The share of tourism trips to the region in world tourism has been falling, as other destinations have grown faster and more popular. At the beginning of the decade a consensus was emerging that some restructuring was needed, with a greater emphasis on marketing and catering to the needs of well-defined target groups of tourists.

The economic recession in the U.S., that started early in the year was already hitting this sector, even though their initial effects were not as noticeable due to seasonal patterns in Caribbean Tourism. Recent studies show a very significant sensitivity of tourism to income and economic activity and this was beginning to show up in tourism arrivals by mid-year 2001.

The September 11th terrorist attacks brought a more immediate sense of crisis: with the sudden stoppage of flights and the general retreat of air travel, tourism arrivals into the region fell dramatically, with very strong effects in countries that were already suffering from other economic problems: Dominican Republic, Costa Rica and other

Central American countries with significant industrial sectors linked to the U.S. economy were already under stress due to sudden drops in orders from abroad and massive job cuts. Several countries in Central America were also suffering from the double shocks in due to the collapse in coffee prices and the sequel of a two-year drought that was

The September 11th terrorist attacks brought a more immediate sense of crisis.

causing severe unemployment and even famine in the countryside.

Since early September there has been some modest recovery in tourism travel to the region, attracted, among other things, by aggressive price discounts. However, arrivals and bookings are still well below normal levels.

One positive outcome of this crisis has been a renewed effort from the different countries and private organizations to work together, finding ways to address some of the structural issues that were affecting their sectors before the crisis, and this might help an orderly restructuring. This is one of the cases in which some degree of cooperation and dialogue in times of crisis might help avert major problems. For instance, there is little doubt that price cuts were necessary to bring back tourists scared to fly abroad. However, different studies show that the price sensitivity of overall tourism is not so high (i.e., the increase in total tourism travel due to discounts is not large); however, there is a very large sensitivity to prices when choosing among different destinations. Under these circumstances, lack of some minimal coordination could easily degenerate into price-wars that will benefit the consumers in the short-term, but will deepen the crisis of the tourism sector to the region, postponing structural changes that point to making these countries more attentive to tourists requirements.

Tourism in Selected Countries of Latin America and the Caribbean

	NUMBER OF TOURISTS	REVENUES FROM TOURISM	TOTAL EXPORTS OF GOODS AND SERVICES	REVENUES FROM TOURISM/ EXPORTS	TOURISM RECEIPTS AS A % OF GDP
BAHAMAS	1577 Thousand	\$1503 US	\$1892 US	79.4%	n.a.
COSTA RICA	1032	1002	8126	12.3%	6.6%
CUBA	1561	1714	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	2649	2524	8336	30.3%	9.6%
GUATEMALA	823	570	3247	17.6%	n.a.
JAMAICA	1248	1227	3435	35.7%	17.9%
MEXICO	19043	7223	146830	4.9%	n.a.
NICARAGUA	468	107	773	13.8%	4.5%

Sources: World Bank, World Development Indicators 2001; GCR 2001; World Tourism Organization.; n.a.: Data are not available

Brazil

The Business of Tourism

BY GILMAR MASIERO

as the Iguazú Falls, the Itaimbezinho, and the Amazon rainforest, as well as 2,000 miles of virtually uninterrupted soft white beaches? That in the Afro-Brazilian state of Bahia, there are more than 154 historical churches in the capital of Salvador?

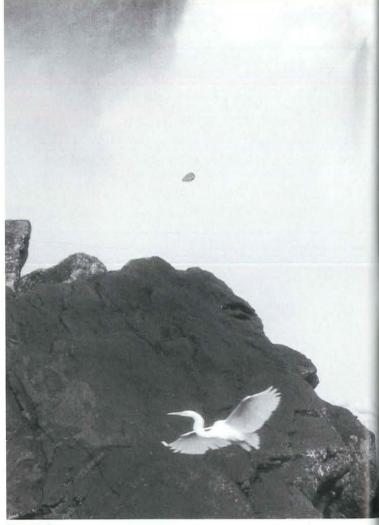
Are these places worthwhile to visit? English Prime Minister Tony Blair thinks so. He recently visited the Falls during his state visit to Brazil. The Iguazú Falls act as a triple land border, or the meeting point of Paraguay, Brazil and Argentina. They are not the biggest falls in the world, but certainly the most beautiful. Stories say that when Eleanor Roosevelt visited them she exclaimed: "Poor Niagara". The setting of Iguazú is far more graceful and, unlike Niagara, there is much less tourist commercial activity to detract from the natural drama. Wooden toucans are as tacky as it gets.

In Iguazú, 270 waterfalls spread out like a lace curtain for nearly two miles. One can't see them all at once from ground level for they extend far beyond the line of vision. Native Indians saw this as an auspicious place. The romantic version of the falls' origin is that two young Indian lovers were canoeing down the river, escaping the wrath of a God, when he made the riverbed collapse. As the lovers hurtled over the precipice, the girl turned into a rock and the man into a tree standing over her. In reality, the falls were probably created by a lava flow that stopped abruptly, the result of which seems equally miraculous to visitors.

If this scenario was able to enchant Eleanor Roosevelt and Tony Blair, why don't more visitors seek to discover these wonders? Brazil only attracts five million tourists, one-fourth of the Caribbean's annual visitors. Some would argue that it is a problem of distance or marketing; others cite the lack of infrastructure. Others would contend that the lack of government incentives, low investments in human capital and mismanaged travel agencies might also be part of the explanation.

INITIATIVES TO IMPROVE THE TOURISM INDUSTRY

The tourism industry that directs travelers to developing countries such as Brazil is a complex, multi-layered network. Tourism mobilizes more than 50 productive sectors in developed markets, requiring a large group of trained technicians and professionals. It includes travel agencies, tour operators, airlines, cruise lines, car rental agencies, credit card companies, public relation firms, advertising companies, tourism bureaus, and the media. In the host country, inbound tour operators, ground transporters, guides, accommodation facilities, national tourism bureaus, national and private parks and other recreational sites, cultural and craft centers are the major players. More often than not, the travel industry is supported by government policies and regulations, infrastructure projects, and frequently, direct subsidies as well as by a wide array of commercial banks, international financial and aid institutions. The World Tourism Organization (WTO) estimates that 1 in each 16



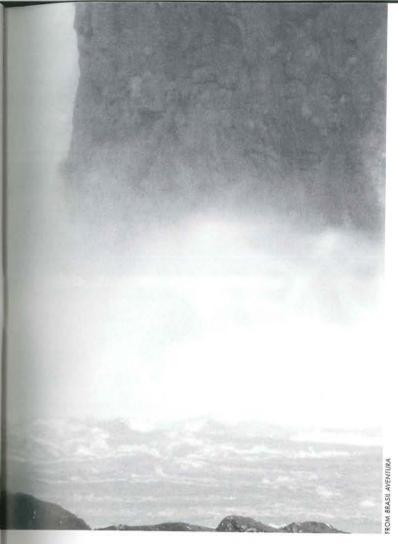
Igazú Falls

workers is employed in the sector. The workers are basically engaged in two modalities of tourism: the senders and recipients of tourism.

The total number of visitors to Brazil's two most national and internationally recognized tourist poles, the metropolis of Rio de Janeiro and the heritage site of Bahia, is less than that of Cancún, Mexico. The type of enclave tourism practiced in Cancún, Acapulco and the Caribbean is not necessarily the model Brazil seeks to follow. According to the Economist Intelligence Unit, underdeveloped tourism infrastructure, high levels of crime and high prices before the 1999 currency devaluation have combined to curb the growth of tourism, despite Brazil's physical and cultural assets.

During the 1990s Argentines represented more than 40% of international visitors (1.744 million in 2000). Flows from neighbors in the region are subject to the volatility of their economies. The current Argentine economic crisis is expected to strongly stem the flow of Argentines to Brazilian beaches. Other than Argentines, the top five groups of foreigners visiting Brazil in 2000 were from the United States (648,000), Uruguay (403,000), Paraguay (371,000), Germany (290,000) and Italy (202,000). Surveys indicate that the primary reason for visiting Brazil was tourism, specifically 71%, other reasons were business travel (23%) and conferences and meetings (4.5%). Leisure tourists averaged 12 days in the country and spent an average of \$84.38 per day. Most of them visit Brazil in the summer time between December and March.

While macroeconomic instability inhibits the steady growth of Brazil's tourist industry, another significant problem is the fact that Brazil sends more Brazilian tourists to other countries than for-



eign tourists visit Brazil. According to Brazil's government-run tourist organization, Embratur, sending tourism grew 495%, compared to the 17% of receptive traffic in the last 15 years. Accordingly, Soletur—Brazil's largest tour operator—focused its business strategy on emissive tourism, as this was the most lucrative and dynamic segment of the tourist industry. However, even the stability of this strategy was challenged with the decline in the number of Brazilians traveling abroad resulting from the September 11th tragedy. The stark tragedy—combined with already existing management problems—led to the firm's overnight collapse.

With the bankruptcy of the largest tour operator in Brazil, the remaining two major competitors are fighting head to head to increase their market share. According to the Brazilian Association of Tour Operators (Braztoa), CVC and Varig Travel dominate the market. Varig Travel recently acquired Panexpress Tours, the fifth largest operator in the country, and is expected to lead the market with earnings of more than \$ 200 million in 2002.

Varig's strategy is consistent with global trends. The largest European and American tour operators focus their business strategies on the vertical integration of their "production chains." By owning or having significant ownership in the multiple segments of the tourist industry, such as the transportation, hospitality and entertainment sectors, large multinationals hope to be able to take care of a tourist's entire stay abroad. As Brazil's largest airline, Varig already has one of the most important assets of the tourism chain—the planes. Integration of tour operators aiming to achieve economies of scale and scope is one of the main factors that drives the suc-

cess or failure of the tourism industry.

Although in its infancy stage, the Brazilian tourism industry is already undergoing a transformation. Southern states are beginning to receive large numbers of tourists from neighboring countries, and cities like Florianopolis in Santa Catarina State have become important coastal resorts. New types of tourism, including ecotourism, are developing from the natural attractions of almost untouched Amazonian forest and the diverse animal life of the Pantanal marshland. Ecotourism is gaining a strong push in all the states of Brazil, even the MST (Movimento dos Sem Terra), the largest landless movement, is attracting curious foreigners to their "acampamentos."

However, Rio de Janeiro remains the most popular destination for 40% of tourists to Brazil. In addition to its traditional attractions, the city is improving sport aquatic activities and tours to "favelas" as a way to better integrate the local population with the tourist industry. (See article on p. 44).

But, there are several constraints. Brazil needs to focus on augmenting the number of new and repeat visitors, as well as improving the management and skills of agents working in the industry. The Brazilian government has introduced a government initiative to stimulate the tourism through the PNMT – "Programa Nacional de Municipalização do Turismo (National Program of Tourism Municipalization). Aimed at giving local municipalities incentives towards developing their own regional infrastructure and strategic plans. The program hopes to multiply and diversify the number of tourist destinations. In the coming years Brazil's tourist industry will benefit from increased investments in hotel infrastructure. The Brazilian National Economic and Social Development Bank has been providing subsidized credit lines with favorable rates of interest to enterprises wishing to construct hotels in the Northeast.

With its potential for increasing the number of jobs in cities and rural areas alike, tourism has been recognized as an important part of the country's strategy to reduce income inequality. As a service sector, hotels and other tourism operations require employees who are better trained. After reforms in the 1996 Educational Law, which eased the process of accrediting tertiary educational institutions, a great number of bilingual and skillful young tourist professionals are being schooled. It is expected that these new generations of professionals will be able to offer to foreigner visitors the same quality of service experienced in other mature markets. It is also expected that this professionals will find better ways to attract you to visit Brazil. If not, Brazilians will say "poor Americans" and "poor Europeans" who are not able to recognize the enriching experience of visiting Brazil's seven wonders.

Former DRCLAS Visiting Scholar Gilmar Masiero
<g_masiero@yahoo.com> works as an Associate Professor of
International Business and Management at the State University
of Maringá in Paraná, Brazil. Masiero obtained his M.A. and
his Ph.D. in Management and Economics at the Escola de
Administração de Empresas de São Paulo, da Fundação Getúlio
Vargas, in São Paulo, Brazil. He has been visiting research fellow
at IDE/Tokio; USP/São Paulo; UCSD/San Diego; UNICAMP/
Campinas and KIEP/Seoul, as well as DRCLAS/Cambridge.
He wishes to thank the Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento
Científico e Tecnológico (the Brazilian Council for Scientific
and Tecnological Development) for supporting his research.

Let's Go

Harvard's Window on Tourism

BY ELLEN SCHNEIDER

CAPULCO WAS COVERED IN WATER. AFTER DAYS OF CONSTANT downpour, the gushing, bubbling water had overrun the inadequate sewer system. In its merciless drive towards the ocean, the flood stirred up leaves, soil, and trash. Acapulco had been put under siege by its own filth.

The tourists were prisoners in their highrise hotels, waiting for the sun to welcome them back to the beach. The locals remained in their shops and restaurants, betting on who would be the first to leave, and chiding those who did. No one wanted to venture outside, least of all me. But Acapulco was stop 10 out of 27-town journey along the southern Mexican coast and I needed to visit every night club, beach, bus station, half a dozen different hotels, about 11 restaurants, the city park, the post office, the tourist office and an internet cafe south of town. I had two days. I was drenched the entire time.

Researching and writing for *Let's Go*, the Harvard student-produced travel guide was an often arduous experience for me. Over 700 people jockey for about 200 positions each summer, and I felt lucky to be picked for this legendary Harvard job. In the early 1960s, an small group of motivated Harvard undergraduates created a Xerox pamphlet called *Let's Go: Europe* that highlighted cheap places where students could afford to stay and eat. It was a hit. After a couple years, several more guides, and serious updating, the guides were bought by St. Martin's Press. Today there are 35 titles including nine city editions. The operation is completely written, edited, and managed by Harvard students, and unlike all other travel guides, it is updated every year. This makes it the top-selling budget travel guide series in the world, and the provider of the most coveted summer jobs among Harvard students.

Despite the glamorous reputation of traveling for the guide, the reality of the job is quite different. On my return, I found that many Let's Go researcher/writers had similar experiences to mine. When asked about their summers traveling for Let's Go, the response is almost predictable. They will take a moment to answer, their minds working fast to translate the vivid images and memories into words, unsure of how to process such vast quantities of information. Then, with a perfect balance of conviction and uncertainty that suggests they believe what they are about to say but are still surprised by it, they let out their breath: it was hard.

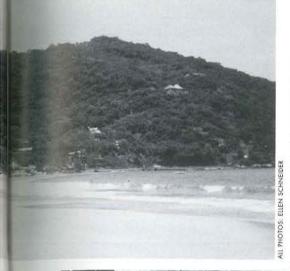
Two summers ago I worked as a research/writer (RW) for the southwest section of the 2000 edition of Let's Go: Mexico. My job included updating listings in the Let's Go: Mexico 1999 guide as well as improving maps and adding new spots as I saw fit. That was the official job description. The reality was much more complex. A deserted road that should have led to a beach, the sunstroke after an afternoon riding an emaciated donkey to a mosquito-infested trickle of water, waiting for buses that didn't arrive, and jumping off buses that didn't stop—it was hard, but not because of these mishaps. After all, I was there to experience the bad hotels, the missteps, and the food sickness, and the illegal border crossings so that our readers



wouldn't have to. Being misdirected and disappointed by the 1999 guide fueled my desire to improve and correct it. Of course, it is ironic that even with such dedication, year after year, there were so many missteps in the guide—shouldn't they have been ironed out by now? Shouldn't we have this down to a science? Perhaps. But what I and many others found, was that problems inherent in the job itself impeded even the elementary objective of simply improving the guide.

One of the most difficult aspects of the job was judging the sites and locations I visited. I didn't trust my own opinions. Before our crew of six left for Mexico, we were instructed to base our judgements on a comparison with what we perceived as a standard in Mexico, rather than compare conditions to those in the United States. Does this mean we should lower our standards? We were also told to list the cheapest hotel in any town. We could preface the listing with a negative write-up if we did not endorse it, but the cheapest place was to be listed nevertheless. Does this mean we could honestly say a place was foul and nasty? We had a training session on how to support particularly critical write-ups with evidence in order to avoid being sued by unhappy proprietors. We can be sued?? I had so many questions and no one seemed to have answers. Just how many cockroaches do you have to kill before the hotel has a "bug problem?" If I feel unsafe at a club, is that because it really is unsafe, or because I am a young female who is traveling alone? Why did the previous writer gush about this restaurant's ambience when I feel it is dirty and smoky? What I wrote would be echoed to an international audience. I was very conscious of unjust criticism based on my own ignorance and Amero-centrism, but on the other hand I did not want to lend a false sense of unique rustic identity or security to sites I felt did not merit it. A precise and honest evaluation was hard to deliver.

Time was another enemy. School ended the first week of June. The new Let's Go copy had to be edited by late August, giving me two months to cover more than 27 cities and about 15 more sites and day trips. This could be done only by rushing, taking overnight buses, and walking really fast. The real problem—the problem that helps explain why there were so many holes in the maps, in the directions, in the descriptions—was that I constantly fought to stretch time, and I almost always lost. I had just enough hours to update the already mentioned information, check out before noon, and catch the one daily bus to the next stop. If I happened to see a new enticing hotel on the way, I stopped in. But I left many undiscovered gems in my wake. I desperately wanted to make my portion of the guide better than the previous edition, desperately wanted to improve and fine tune the listings and directions. I couldn't. Instead I improved what I could—the way the listings were written, the colorful asides.





From left: beach at Zihuatenango; author Schneider resting on a hammock; pelicans in San Blas, Mexico

Because of researcher/writers with similar circumstances, *Let's Go* books are known for their witty and vibrant writing. The result is *Let's Go Mexico 2000:* delightful to read, but hard to use.

A lot of these problematic issues stem from structure of the Let's Go operation. The turnover is so high that institutional memory is either short-term or nonexistent. Stephanie Coon, the Associate Editor for the 2001 edition of Let's Go: United States remembers her own difficulty with the lack of solid leadership and explains, "You cannot have a professional organization if you are replacing the management every year. Almost no one has the same job for longer than a year." Angie Chen, editor for Let's Go: Mexico 2001 adds that the experience depends on how good your editor is, and her own experience as editor was made difficult by a lack of guidance from the rest of the Let's Go staff. These shortcomings have a significant impact on how Let's Go develops its Latin American coverage. Currently there are three Latin American editions, including Central America, Mexico, and Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador. Latin America is an untouched gold mine for the series. Increased political stability and democracy in all but a few Latin American countries have improved traveling conditions. The strength of the dollar and other international currencies against Latin American denominations mean that Australians, Canadians, Europeans, and Americans can make their leftover tuition money go a long way. Latin American governments are seizing on the recent flood of international visitors by establishing tourist industries that offer basic support networks and highlight attractions without the over-development that tends to preclude budget travelers. Let's Go is trying to capitalize on this market. Series on Argentina and Chile are in the works and hopefully Let's Go: Brazil will not be too far down the road.

But expanding coverage of Latin America is not as easy as merely sending more researcher/writers to new countries. Let's Go was

delivered a serious setback this past summer when a recent college graduate and RW traveling and writing in Peru was killed when her bus inadvertently drove off the road and fell down an embankment. This tragedy generated a lot of negative press and critical scrutiny into the *Let's Go* operation. Although Latin America is becoming more tourist oriented, accommodations and facilities in Latin America are often underdeveloped and can be extremely difficulty to navigate for RWs without time, experience, or good guidance. As a result, many RWs have to learn the hard way.

The future of *Let's Go* appeal for budget travelers going in Latin America depends on several things. There is a market waiting to be entered and areas waiting to be explored. *Let's Go* needs to move quickly, and expand its coverage with focus and careful direction, which only comes from experience. *Let's Go* as an institution has over 30 years of experience, *Let's Go* as a staff, does not. Quality and accuracy of listings, as well as the writing needs to be improved. The places that are listed should not only be cheap, they should be the best cheap places available.

Let's Go, above all, prides itself on "holding true to our founder's goals of providing student-written, up-to-date travel guides for budget travelers." Yet this objective threatens their precarious success in places such as Latin America. I didn't break through the surface of Acapulco's identity, I remember a wet, dirty city and my write-up, perhaps unjustly, reflected my disappointment. But I am not satisfied with my work. I want to return to Mexico and distinguish the character of each bar in San Miguel; to discover the finest silver for the cheapest prices in Taxco; to visit a vast assortment of restaurants in Zihuatanejo and confidently endorse one as the "best." I want to write a comprehensive, thorough, and completely updated travel guide, to do the job I was hired to do.

Ellen Schneider is a 2001 graduate of Harvard College where she earned her degree in History with a Latin American focus. In addition to Mexico, she has traveled extensively through Nicaragua, Spain, France, and Japan. Ellen currently works as the Student Services Coordinator at the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies.

Harvard Summer School in Cuzco, Peru

OR THE FIRST TIME IN HARvard's history, a group of 15 Harvard Summer School students will have the opportunity to enjoy a full summer program for credit in Peru. The courses, (Latin American Literature in Context (LAST S-103) and History of the Andes (HIST S-1740), will meet June 20 - July 21 in Cuzco, Peru. Professors José Antonio Mazzotti, Harvard Department of Romance Languages and Literatures and Jane Mangan, Harvard History Department, have designed the courses to allow students to enjoy the surroundings in Cuzco, the magnificent core of Incan civilization, now known as the archaeological capital of South America.

The Centro Bartolomé de las Casas (www.cbc.org.pe), a leading institution devoted to the study and development of the Andean region, will host the Cuzco program and offer stu-



dents access to its library, facilities, photographic collections and research programs.

The Harvard summer program, structured around the two courses, will include a three-day visit to Lima, local trips, culinary tours, folklore shows, and special lectures by noted Peruvian scholars. The stay in Lima includes guided visits to colonial sites, museums, and the pre-Hispanic temple of Pachacamac. In Cuzco, students will familiarize themselves with the exuberant indigenous culture and with

contemporary issues that affect the entire Andean region. Trips will include guided visits to the Pisac market and archaeological site, the Sacred Valley of the Incas, the lost city of Machu Picchu, Lake Titicaca, Paucartambo, and surrounding indigenous communities, as well as attendance at the Inti Raymi festival (Festival of the Sun).

Each course will meet twice a week for three hours, and will focus on past and present issues within the Latin American, and specifically the Andean, artistic and historical contexts.

Admission is based on the Summer School application, and a supplementary statement including: coursework in Spanish language study, travel experience abroad, and the reasons for the student's interest in the summer program in Cuzco. Students should have a fair command of Spanish. All application materials, addressed to the attention of José Antonio Mazzotti, must be received at the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures (Boylston Hall 427, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA 02138, USA) by March 20. Enrollment is limited to 15 students. Students must be must be 18 years of age and must submit a certificate of good health signed by a physician. Final decisions will be made by April 10.

Cost: \$5500 for tuition, room and board, local activities, all local trips and ground trans-

Quechua Course

Quechua is being taught for the first time at Harvard this spring. José Antonio Mazzotti is overseeing a basic introductory course to the language of the Incas, now spoken by more than 12 million people in Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and northern Chile and Argentina. Quechua is a language of simple structures but multiple expressive possibilities, with a longstanding tradition of poetry, music, and drama. This course, ideal for those Harvard students interested in doing research on the Andean area and communicating with indigenous communities in South America, will cover approximately twothirds of the material of a first-year Quechua course. Resources to offer this course come from the **DRCLAS Title VI grant fund** from the U.S. Department of Education.

portation; \$95 health insurance fee. Air transportation to and from Lima and Cuzco is additional. For Harvard undergraduates receiving need-based grant assistance, loans may be available through the Harvard College Financial Aid Office.

James Austin

Award for Research on the Nonprofit Sector

AMES AUSTIN OF THE HARVARD BUSINESS SCHOOL'S INITIATIVE on Social Enterprise was awarded one of The Virginia A. Hodgkinson Research Prizes for 2001 for his book *The Collaboration Challenge: How Nonprofits and Businesses Succeed Through Strategic Alliances* at the Independent Sector's annual meeting in Atlanta in November 6. The prize recognizes outstanding published research that furthers understanding of philanthropy, voluntary action, nonprofits, and civil society in the United States and abroad. The Prize Selection Committee is comprised of five senior academic researchers and practitioners and is chaired by Howard Tuckman, Dean of the Business School at Rutgers University. The prize is named in honor of Virginia Ann Hodgkinson, who is renowned worldwide as a driving force behind the development of research on the nonprofit sector and voluntary action.

James Austin is the John G. McLean Professor of Business Administration and a member of the DRCLAS Executive Committee.

MacArthur Grant

Jennifer Schirmer, Research Professor at the International Peace Research Institute of Oslo (PRIO) and former DRCLAS Affiliate, has received a John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Research and Writing Grant for her project "Protagonists of War: The Insurgents' View. Memories and Justificatory Narratives of the Guatemalan Guerrilla Leaders and Cadre."

Inter-American Court Decision

Internationalizing Indigenous Community Land Rights

BY THEODORE MACDONALD

enial of indigenous land claims is hardly new. It has been endemic in Latin America since the 16th century. However, until quite recently, whenever Latin American Indians "did" anything with regard to land, they largely stood alone. That is no longer the case.

On September 17, 2001, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, the highest tribunal in the Americas, released its decision in the case of a small Mayagna (Sumo) community of Awas Tingni, located on the forested area of Nicaragua's Caribbean coastal regional. Since 1992, the community has sought formal recognition of its territorial rights in the face of encroaching international lumber companies. In its decision, the Court affirmed the existence of indigenous peoples' collective rights to the land, resources, and environment they customarily use and occupy The justices thus recognized the community's customary rights to property and judicial protection and declared that the Nicaraguan government had violated these granting concessions to a Korean lumber company to log on the Community's land without even consulting the community.

The Court declared, "for indigenous communities the relationship with the land is not merely a question of possession and production, but it is also a material and spiritual element which they should fully enjoy, as well as a means to preserve their cultural heritage and pass it on to future generations."

Thus, the Awas Tingni case effectively challenged vague or non-existent rules that have stalled efforts to recognize rights and title land for the community and Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast region in general. The court decision will reverberate throughout Latin America, where numerous and similar territorial claims have brought little, if any, government response.

"This victory shows that indigenous peoples now have the technology to document their land rights and the legal knowhow to demand that they be enforced," said David Maybury-Lewis, Harvard University Professor of Anthropology and a founder of Cultural Survival. "In the future, nations that ignore this precedent will risk serious international embarrassment."

The court decision strengthens the numerous organizations in the Latin American indigenous movement—now sweeping down from Mexico to Chile. The treatment of the Awas Tingni case, in turn, illustrates how indigenous concerns—previously regarded as simple "claims" by marginal people—have been elevated to internationally-recognized legal "rights." Indians now have powerful national and international legal mechanisms to press their claims.

HARVARD SUPPORT

Three from Harvard played long and critical roles in the development of the case and the subsequent trial. Lead attorney and Harvard Law graduate S. James Anaya, is Professor of Law at the University of Arizona and a Program Affiliate at the Weatherhead Center's Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Cultural Survival (PONSACS). One of the community's expert witnesses was the region's foremost

scholar on indigenous rights, Rodolfo Stavenhagen, of the Colegio de Mexico and former Robert F. Kennedy Visiting Professor of Latin American Studies at Harvard. Prosecution witness and anthropological researcher for the case was PONSACS Associate Director Theodore Macdonald.

Since 1995, PONSACS, collaborating with Nicaraguan and US attorneys, the Indian Law Resource Center, and the Awas Tingni community, has drawn on anthropological techniques to identify and document the local understanding of and justification for land and resource rights in this landmark case. PON-SACS' role was to document. through ethnographic research and community-developed maps, Awas Tingni's current and historical use and occupancy of its territory. Subsequently, researchers illustrated these patterns through reports and computer-generated maps (geographic information systems, or GIS).

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CASE

The Awas Tingni project began when a joint Nicaraguan-Dominican lumber company sought logging rights on its lands after the Ministry of Natural Resources had declared the region as a "protected area." In May 1994 Awas Tingni leaders signed a trilateral agreement with the Nicaraguan-Dominican lumber company and the government of Nicaragua for lumbering on 42,000 hectares of tropical rain forest claimed by the community. The negotiations, under the eye of an international environmental organization and sup-

ported by legal specialists, led to a community-based natural forest management project that was economically beneficial, environmentally sound, and respectful of human rights. To strengthen compliance with the agreement, and to deal with any future disputes, the community members sought formal recognition of their territorial claims. PONSACS' basic research served initially as a "preventative" tool for the community, but later became the basis for litigation when in late 1995, and without informing the community, a large Korean corporation received a government lumber concession on their lands. The case eventually reached the Inter-American Court of Human Rights after local recourse procedures were exhausted.

Similar indigenous concerns partially explain the upsurge in protests, strikes, uprisings, and marches by Indian peoples in Colombia, Ecuador, and Bolivia. Consequently, the Court's decision sets a far reaching precedent affirming indigenous land rights not only for the indigenous communities of the Atlantic Coast, but also for indigenous peoples throughout the hemisphere. Moreover, the decision, by specifying required actions to support broad laws, strengthens the rule of law throughout the region.

Theodore MacDonald is
Associate Director at the
Weatherhead Center's Program
on Nonviolent Sanctions and
Cultural Survival (PONSACS). For more detail on
the case, see the PONSACS
website <www.wcfia.harvard.edu/ponsacs/>).

TOURISM IN THE AMERICAS





Harvard University David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies 61 Kirkland Street Cambridge, MA 02138 PRST. STD U.S. POSTAGE PAID PERMIT NO. 55 PLYMOUTH, MA